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INTERNATIONAL RELIEF IN ACTION

1914 . 1943

SELECTED RECORDS, WITH NOTES

By

HERTHA KRAUS

With the Collaboration of
THE RESEARCH CENTER

4035 SPRUCE STREET, PHILADELPHIA, PA.

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Foreword

Throughout their history, the peace churches have been deeply sensitive to human suffering, and have often shared in the task of bringing relief to those in distress. Once again, in the midst of a devastating war, the Brethren, Friends, and Mennonites are seeking constructive ways of expressing their sense of oneness with their fellow human beings. They have already begun relief undertakings, and they are preparing to share in the larger tasks of world relief, as soon as the way is open to render service. Formal and informal training of dedicated young men and women is in progress in many places. Workers—eager to give the best of their energies to the alleviation of suffering and the development of more co-operative living—will need not only understanding and sympathy which is prerequisite for all that they will do, but also a knowledge of the principles and procedures of international relief administration.

It was the need for teaching aids in this field which led the peace churches in June of 1943 to establish a research center for the preparation of such materials. For this purpose the center has collaborated with Dr. Hertha Kraus of the American Friends Service Committee, associate professor of Social Economy and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College and an experienced worker in international relief, in the completion of a series of case records in relief and rehabilitation problems, which she had already begun.

It is the hope of those who have shared in the enterprise that this publication, the first to be issued by the Research Center, will be useful to all who are preparing themselves for the tasks of relief service in the postwar world.

ELDON BURKE, *Director*
Research Center

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
March 1, 1944.

Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to the members of the Research Center, and to many others who have contributed substantially and generously to the preparation of this volume: Irwin Abrams, John E. Bender, Eldon Burke, Allan Eister, Earl Garver, M. C. Lehman, Erna Magnus, Edythe Norwick, Anneliese Thiemann, and Robert Walters. Of these, Erna Magnus and John E. Bender have had the largest share in the enterprise, providing most valuable research and editorial assistance.

There are many others who have contributed helpful counsel and constructive thoughts to a somewhat experimental undertaking. The support of the three service committees has been an important factor in bringing the work to a conclusion. In particular, a generous grant-in-aid by the American Friends Service Committee facilitating research in international relief, is gratefully acknowledged.

I desire, also, to thank all of those who kindly gave permission for the use of materials for the records: American Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, American National Red Cross, Brethren Service Committee, Brookings Institution, Commonwealth Fund, Department of State, Hadassah, Miss Eleanor M. Hinder, Hutchinson and Company, International Labour Office, *Jewish Social Studies*, Economic, Financial and Transit Department of the League of Nations, MacMillan Company, Mennonite Central Committee, *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, Near East Foundation, Fleming H. Revell Company, Rockefeller Foundation, Stanford University Press, Mrs. Lucie Stephens, Mrs. Elsa Brandström Ulich, Roger Wilson, The Women's Press, World Student Service Fund, and the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

HERTHA KRAUS.

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Fifty-Seven Project Records

Introductory Note

THE FOLLOWING PROJECT RECORDS have been developed to provide suitable material for the discussion of practical problems of international relief and foreign aid to social reconstruction. They may be of interest to groups varying considerably as to level of experience, professional proficiency, and maturity.

Among those who hope to take an active part in services of rehabilitating shattered people and shattered communities there are young men and women most sincerely eager to prepare for such highly responsible tasks while they are still in a reasonably normal and peaceful setting. Others, experienced workers of various professional backgrounds, wish to adapt their knowledge and skills to the requirements of foreign areas of great shortage and disorganized resources. Civic and religious study groups wish to understand more adequately the essentials of international relief in order to lend intelligent support to such programs.

The following records of actual field operations have been selected as representative of typical situations within the great drama of international relief, rehabilitation, and reconstruction staged during the period of two devastating wars, and in the long years of reorientation and rebuilding in the wake of World War I. These scenes may help to clarify the attitudes and the types of skills, the knowledge, and the information, which will be widely needed in the task before us. There can hardly be any question that contemporary knowledge and the best of professional practice in public and private community service must be mobilized in order to meet the peculiar challenge of international aid to social reconstruction.

The collection of case reports represent a balanced unit in a number of respects. No attempt has been made to outline a history of operations in any one field, or to illustrate all possible approaches to certain areas of need. The material has been selected to bring to the interested reader, as a basis for individual and group exploration, illustrations of the recurrent needs of widely different groups during various periods of destruction and rebuilding which have challenged relief workers in many parts of the world, and some of the most common solutions they have found. Examples have been selected to illustrate needs and services of both resident and displaced people, of young and old, of family groups and isolated individuals, of those maintaining life under conditions of utmost chaos and devastation and of others functioning within a post-war community under almost normal conditions.

Some illustrations present the first-aid approach of speedy, spontaneous improvised service, others show problems and operations connected with the development of a more highly organized service still of a temporary and emergency character. Others, again, indicate a high

degree of integration of foreign aid with national planning and a joint approach to the steady development of continuous community services with active international support.

Some of the records have been selected to point out the power of comprehensive collective arrangements resulting in important improvements of the lot of many: products of inspired and skillful negotiations, of creative statesmanship. Others indicate the wide range of individualized and group services in meeting vital human needs.

Special attention has been given to using illustrations in many different foreign settings. More than twenty-five countries in Europe, the Near East, the Far East, and the Americas provide background for service activities within cultures rather different from our own. With skillful interpretation the foreign settings may provide material for an appreciation of the basic importance of different attitudes, different values, and different community resources, which need to be discovered and respected in all phases of international relief planning and operation.

The illustrations have also been selected to emphasize the kind of conditions which must be anticipated by the prospective worker. Extreme scarcity of supplies and wide destruction and breakdown of community resources call for plans which are essentially different, at least in the early phases of operation, from the task of organizing services within a functioning community, or from the task of organizing temporary refuge or a permanent community in a new land.

Some of the material for the project records has been found in the files and unpublished reports of various agencies, while other illustrations have been taken from published documents. No effort has been made to represent agencies according to their importance in the field or in proportion to their past or current contribution. Extensive notes on the history and programs of all agencies mentioned will be found in the Appendix. In searching for suitable material covering all major points of contacts with needy people, major forms of services, and major phases of characteristic operations in various theaters of need and service, the selection has been largely guided by the vividness of presentation, by the availability of reports showing process and development as well as achievement, and, finally, by the accessibility of material which seemed to meet these purposes. The fifty-seven records are based on activities of twenty-seven agencies. Seven records cover services during the first World War, twenty-three relate to the Armistice and Reconstruction periods from 1919 to 1923, fourteen fall in the interim period, while thirteen are connected with problems originating from World War II.

The records may be used in many different ways and the experienced discussion and class-room leader will need few suggestions. For the convenience of others who wish to develop a comprehensive sequence of discussion in this area, specific recommendations and a course outline will be found in the Appendix.

To facilitate the use of the records a few questions have been added to each presentation which can easily be extended to cover other aspects of the material. Questions relate to different levels of knowledge and

experience: only in exceptional cases do they presuppose substantial experience in welfare planning and social administration. All records can be used independently; records within one section tend to supplement each other, presenting within different settings and periods various approaches to the same or related problems. Every discussion should point the way to further questions, not to any convenient formula or a ready-made solution.

Questions are either a matter of knowledge, or of belief, or of taste, or of action: if related to our knowledge, they are settled by solution; if related to our belief, they are settled by convictions; if related to our taste, they are settled by choice; if related to our actions, they are settled by decision. The first two groups are based on understanding, the latter on evaluating . . . The body of our knowledge is always incomplete, parts of it are missing, the available parts are our actual knowledge. Those missing are our potential knowledge . . . The structure of our knowledge warrants that we see the gaps in our actual knowledge. We expect we can fill them and we try to do so by using questions as our tools . . . While we are busy in filling the gaps we can never do away with them; the more we fill the more become visible*

The discussion should help to bring out the factual knowledge already achieved and to awaken the thirst for more. It should provide an opportunity for thinking through in considerable detail each step in planning and operation as related to the specific conditions of need in a given setting. It should challenge comparison between improvised and emergency solutions and those which satisfy us according to present standards of available knowledge and good practice. Discussions should also bring out our own attitudes, possibly our biases, to make us stronger in facing and handling them. Each response to a challenge of need as we find it described may have been conditioned by certain factors: available information and available skills and supplies. Each represents a definite choice for which other answers could have been developed.

We have great responsibility for preparing ourselves to make the best possible choices within the limitations which surround us. Each situation of need may be met by some form of service, but not every response is equally helpful and valid. Each response affects deeply those whom we wish to help. Each utilizes manpower, materials, and funds entrusted to our care for wise investment in areas of extreme shortages and of deep suffering. While under the pressures of the field and in the comparative isolation of small foreign units on a more or less detached and exposed service, we may be unable to think through carefully and to weigh such implications. Study groups may well spend considerable time and careful thought on exploratory trips along the highways and byways of foreign service planning.

*See Walter Fales, "Phenomenology of Questions," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, IV, No. 1 (September, 1943), 60-61.

I. Providing Basic Protection

1. Provisioning an Entire Nation; Belgium, 1914-1915*

Negotiations initiated by Herbert Hoover with the belligerent powers resulted in an unusual agreement which provided the basis for one of the most significant and most dramatic services in the history of foreign aid, the work of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. The following excerpts describe the beginning of this far-flung service which established the pattern followed later by the majority of American services to war victims in Europe. It should be noted that this service was developed under conditions of active warfare and during a blockade—a situation rather different from conditions during the armistice and reconstruction periods after the end of hostilities.

After the invasion the allied blockade cut off most effectively a very substantial part of Belgium's normal sources of essential foods, threatening the whole country with famine in a short time. Immediately civic committees throughout Belgium tried to find new sources for food imports and donations and approached among others the diplomatic representatives of the neutral powers in Belgium, particularly the American, Spanish, and Dutch ministers. Additional efforts were made to bring the critical situation to the attention of various groups in England. Out of these contacts and informal negotiations with the American ambassador there developed a plan and an operating program which was initiated at the historic meeting of October 22, 1914, when the American Commission for Relief in Belgium (C.R.B.) was organized.

Memorandum—Minutes of a meeting held at No. 1 London Wall Buildings, London, when the C. R. B. was organized.

London, 22 October 1914

Present: Messrs. H. C. Hoover
Millard Hunsiker
John B. White
Clarence Graff
Edgar Rickard
Hugh S. Gibson
Millard Shaler
Captain J. F. Lucey

Mr. Hoover stated that the American Ambassador had asked him to set up an organization to carry into execution the engagements undertaken by the American Ambassador in London and Brussels¹ with regard to the importation of foodstuffs and relief generally for Belgium.

It was resolved:

1. That this body should constitute itself: "The American Commission for Relief in Belgium."

*Adapted from George I. Gay, *Public Relations of the Commission for Relief in Belgium; Documents* (Stanford University, Calif., Stanford University Press, 1929), I, 16-23. By permission of Stanford University Press, publishers.

2. That the American Ambassadors in England, Belgium, and Holland should be Honorary Chairmen.
3. That Herbert Hoover should be Chairman.
4. That Daniel Heineman should be Vice-Chairman.
5. That Clarence Graff should be Treasurer.
6. That Millard Shaler and W. Hulse should be Honorary Secretaries.
7. That Mr. John B. White should take charge of the purchase and transportation of foodstuffs in England, Mr. Edgar Rickard should take charge of publicity, and Captain Lucey take charge of the Rotterdam office.
8. It was resolved that the members of the Committee should comprise the American Consuls in Rotterdam, Ghent, Brussels, Liege, Ostend, and London, and that offices should be opened in each of these Consulates for the Commission.
9. The Chairman reported that arrangements had been made for complete co-operation with the Comité Central de Secours et d'Alimentation Belge; that Messrs. Heineman and Hulse were already members of this Committee, and that it was the purpose of the American Commission to purchase and forward food supplies under their guardianship to the various branches of the Belgian Committee,² and that the Belgian Committee has already placed at its disposal £120,000, and that foodstuffs had been purchased and charters entered into for its transport to Rotterdam.

Telegram, Page to Secretary of State, on formation of the Commission and advising that American committee should confer with Hoover.

American Embassy, London
26 October 1914

The Secretary of State, Washington

The Commission of Belgian Relief working under diplomatic guidance of Spanish Ambassador here and myself has written assurance of the German military commander of Belgian territory held by the Germans that food sent them by this Commission will not be confiscated. So far as I know this assurance has not been given to anyone else who may send food.³ No food can be exported from England or Holland, but the Netherlands Government has given this Commission permission to distribute food landed at Rotterdam through our agents to people in Belgian territory. Since food cannot be bought on this side the world, American committees should not send money but should confer with Hoover, Chairman of this Commission, care of this Embassy, regarding what kind of food to send and how to ship it. Commission has agents in every neighborhood in Belgium. It has in fact taken charge of practically all grocery stores. Money sent will be of no use. Food sent except through Commission may never reach Belgium or be confiscated.

Letter, Hoover to the diplomatic patrons of the C. R. B., reporting on the progress made during the first week of the C. R. B.'s existence.

London, 3 November 1914

To Their Excellencies:

The Spanish Ambassador in London
The American Ambassador in London
The American Minister, Brussels
The Spanish Minister, Brussels
The American Minister, The Hague

Honorary Chairmen, The Commission for Relief in Belgium

Your Excellencies:

This Commission, appointed by your good selves, has on the 31st ultimo completed its first week of organized effort and we therefore take this occasion to report to you the results so far attained and to set out the pressing necessities in this work.

We have now been, as you are aware, advised by our members in Belgium, who are co-operating with the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation, which has branches all over the country, that to all intents and purposes the food supply of Belgium is exhausted and that the problem now confronting us is of wider import than was originally expected, as it now amounts to the provisioning of the whole nation, rich as well as poor.⁴ They estimate that the absolute minimum of foodstuffs which will be required as from the 1st of November is 80,000 tons of cereals per month together with some amount of bacon or lard, this being calculated upon the provision of a ration per diem of 10 oz. per capitum, or considerably less than one-half of a soldier's ration. This, as we informed you, is in contrast to the normal imports and products of Belgium of something over 250,000 tons of cereals per month.

We are also informed that the Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation have, in co-operation with the various local authorities in Belgium, arranged to take possession of all private stores of foodstuffs in excess of three months' requirements in the hands of any one individual. There are probably not many of such stores, however, but the Comité wishes to be in a position to equitably distribute whatever there may be over the entire population.⁵

We are able to furnish your good selves with a large amount of data as to the position of various communities in Belgium some of whose foodstuffs have already been exhausted for some days. We are however assuming that there will be secured a certain amount of supplementary food from these sources which will assist in getting over the temporary emergency until the provisioning efforts as a whole can be put on a more definite footing than at present, and the problem is so large that we are compelled in any event to risk this. We are therefore assuming that if we can deliver 40,000 tons during the month of November the situation

could probably be kept going and violence can probably be prevented. We are convinced, however, that we must be prepared to deliver 80,000 tons monthly from the 1st of December and that this will have to be maintained until the next harvest. The cost of this supply will be somewhere about £800,000 to £1,000,000 per month and while a great number of people in Belgium are believed to be able to pay for the food delivered we have yet to devise some method by which a country devoid of credit documents can translate some form of obligation into the purchase of goods. In any event it is not likely that more than one-half of the total sum involved can be paid in this form, even if we can find a method.

The positive food we now have in sight under various arrangements which we have made is a total of 22,800 tons at a cost of £199,000 for November, and 12,000 tons at a cost of £30,000 for December. The total funds which we have available are as follows:

In hand

Contribution from the Comité National	£ 20,000
Contribution through His Excellency Count de Lalaing	£ 100,000

Promised

Subsidy from British Government	£ 100,000
Total	£ 220,000

You will see therefore that we have more than consumed our entire resources in the provision of the above and yet we show a deficiency of 17,200 tons for November delivery and 68,000 tons for December delivery. It has now become necessary and positively critical for us to have some sort of definite financial backing.⁶

It appears to us that this emergency of provisioning a whole nation is of such an order that we cannot depend upon the efforts of private philanthropy for its positive solution and that the brunt of this must fall upon the three governments which are so critically involved in this situation, viz.: Belgium, England, and France. Whilst every possible device to secure private philanthropy will be used by this Commission and no doubt will result in some degree of success, there still remains the fact that such a supply is not dependable and that if the situation is to be handled properly and systematically we have got to have a substratum of government subvention. It is useless to tell us that when we have expended some allotment of money that we can apply for more because if this problem is to be handled we have got to make arrangements now for future supplies for three or more months and we cannot depend on the "gifts of the gods" to meet such eventualities. For transportation purposes we must charter ships extending over months and we must be assured of eventual money to make up by purchase in the best markets

of the world⁷ deliveries to supplement such deficiencies as may arise amongst our voluntary offerings, and furthermore in the securing of such voluntary offerings if we had behind us a solid substratum of income we could stimulate this quarter to very much greater advantage.

As you are aware we have forwarded an appeal to the American people by His Majesty King Albert. We have followed this with strong statements as to the position from ourselves. We have asked the Belgian Government to place at our disposal the money secured for Belgian Relief in the United States, and in order to organize the various efforts being made in America we have asked the governors of each of the large agricultural states to appoint a commission to collect and receive food in each of these territories. It would most materially assist this collection of food if we could say to these good people throughout the United States that this Commission will at its own cost undertake the entire transport of foodstuffs which may be secured. The value of cereal foodstuffs taken in bulk delivered into Belgium is between £10 and £12 per ton, of which something like £2 per ton may be taken as transport costs. Therefore, practically £5 of food will be secured for every pound of expenditure made in this manner. If it can be arranged that we have guaranteed subvention of this kind from the three governments concerned assuring us a minimum of £400,000 per month we are confident that we can handle the situation, or by means of the differences on gifts of goods and the recovery on resale we should be able to make up the margin.⁸ This may be a tight squeeze but on the other hand it might be found that during the first flow of philanthropy we might not require the whole of this sum but as you will be well aware, it is almost impossible to keep such a flow stimulated for a period of eight months.

Yours faithfully

For the Commission

(Signed) H. C. Hoover, *Chairman*

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION*

1. Observe the close relationship of the new undertaking to the diplomatic representatives of the United States, a neutral power in 1914. What are some of the implications of such close contact between the foreign service of a country and its foreign aid activities?

2. The newly founded commission had made immediate arrangements for complete co-operation with a central committee in Belgium. Discuss the division of functions of the two groups as planned in the initial stage. How does it correspond to the relationships between foreign service units of other service organizations and representatives of national agencies of the receiving country?

*The section of the record on which each question is based has been indicated by a small raised number corresponding to the number of the question.

3. Analyze the assurances which had to be given by the different belligerent powers as well as by the neutral Netherlands government to provide a basis for the breaking of the blockade by the Commission for Relief in Belgium. How could such guarantees be safeguarded against abuse and how could they be enforced by the Commission for Relief in Belgium and by other partners to the agreement?

4. Note the concept of provisioning as used in Mr. Hoover's statement of November 3, 1914. Compare it with your own concept of relief.

5. What methods could the committee develop to assure equitable distribution of the supplies under its control? Discuss various forms of rationing. How can rationing be made an instrument of protecting the relative needs of different age and population groups in a satisfactory way? Is the establishment of feeding centers and other types of public kitchens for children and adults a desirable or necessary part of a rationing system? What are its advantages and disadvantages?

6. Discuss Mr. Hoover's assumptions and principles in developing financial support for the new provisioning scheme and the relative role of government financing and private charitable contributions as he presents it. What has been the role of government in financing foreign aid, including child feeding and health service, during and after the last war? What percentage of the total spent on foreign aid has been voluntary contributions in the form of outright gifts?

7. Discuss some implications of the principle that the needed commodities should be purchased in the best markets of the world. How do foreign service agencies protect the beneficiaries of the service against unnecessarily high costs of the commodities delivered, especially if they expect later payment? Is there any danger that business interests may be in conflict with the development of a social policy in foreign aid and with the best interests of the receiving communities?

8. Why should the commission plan for the resale of donated commodities rather than plan to make them directly available for free distribution?

2. Red Cross Societies Improve Life Behind the Barbed Wire; Sweden, 1915-1917*

In the midst of active warfare representatives of the fighting nations were brought together under neutral leadership to consider the improvement of living conditions of different categories of victims, especially of prisoners of war.¹ It was hoped that this might be accomplished despite the tradition of disregard of human suffering and despite confirmed habits of rough and inconsiderate treatment of those who were dependent on the good will, judgment, and authority of hostile powers. Careful negotiation and the very fact that hostile groups were brought together for the purpose of joint consideration of these problems frequently produced valuable results which have greatly changed the living conditions of large numbers of individuals deprived of free movement and of effective bargaining powers.

Not all effort at mediation and collective arrangement brought immediate results; sometimes plans for improvement were not accepted by one or several parties concerned. Some conventions were never enforced,² but they encouraged the amelioration of conditions, and occasionally led to conventions of a more permanent nature.

The following brief account of the meeting of several national Red Cross societies during World War I in the Stockholm Conference of 1915, 1916, and 1917, demonstrates both success and failure of such efforts. Their practical implication for the well-being of large groups of suffering and handicapped people may be best understood against the background of statistics: the Stockholm discussions and agreements were concerned with over five million men in captivity. Two million eight hundred thousand Russians were taken prisoner by the Central Powers, while Russia captured a total of two million three hundred thousand Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Turks, and Bulgarians during the war.

At the invitation of Prince Charles, the President of the Swedish Red Cross, representatives of the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian Red Cross as well as of the Turkish Red Crescent met together at Stockholm in November, 1915, for the discussion of questions concerning prisoners of war. The resolutions adopted by the conference were ratified in May, 1916, by Russia and the Central Powers.

For prisoners of war in Russia only a part of these resolutions had any significance, since many of them were carried out quite arbitrarily or not at all. The agreements which were put in force in Russia and which considerably improved the condition of the prisoners were the following:

- (1) Permission for the prisoners to form in each camp a so-called welfare committee composed of officers, doctors, and soldiers, whose duties should be to listen to wishes and complaints, and report these to the camp commandant, to look after the hygiene of the camp, to work with the neutral delegates, and to supervise the distribution of gifts.³
- (2) Permission for the prisoners to read books printed before 1914.
- (3) Permission for the officers to take walks under escort.

*Adapted from Elsa Brandström, *Among Prisoners of War in Russia and Siberia* (London, Hutchinson and Company, 1929), pp. 186-188. By permission of Elsa Brandström Ulich.

(4) The regulations: (a) that the prisoners are not bound to sign a receipt except for money paid to them in cash or paid to their credit; (b) that the receipt must be signed by the prisoners themselves; (c) that the original money order is to be handed to them; (d) that of money sent to the prisoners from home, officers should receive 20 rubles every ten days and the men 10 rubles.⁴

In expectation of the setting up of a *commission mixte*, consisting of representatives of the belligerent powers, Switzerland, Denmark, and Sweden, which owed its inception to the conference, the Russian Red Cross felt a certain ambition to bestir itself for the prisoners. But it was powerless against the military authorities who were unimpressed by the prospect of international control.⁵ As it turned out, the suggested *commission mixte* failed to materialize.

For a further discussion concerning the health of the prisoners and the possibility of an exchange of the disabled on a still larger scale, delegates of the Russian, German, and Austro-Hungarian Red Cross met again in Stockholm in December, 1916. Here the suggestion was made to collect all prisoners suffering from tuberculosis and scurvy into special camps,⁶ to house them there under better conditions, to take greater care of them and to relieve them of work.⁷ Four medical commissions, each to include a neutral member, were to superintend the carrying out of the agreement in each country. One government, however, refused to sanction such a control.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What international regulations have been developed to protect prisoners of war? How has such protection gradually been achieved? Are similar agreements available for the protection of civilian internees in belligerent countries?
2. What machinery is available to enforce international agreements concerning prisoners of war? How could it be strengthened to prove effective under adverse conditions?
3. What are the advantages of the welfare committee described in the report?
4. What are the reasons for the very specific regulations concerning money disbursement to prisoners? How would you handle disbursements in a camp when no such protection exists, but where as a welfare worker you wish to maintain fair treatment of individuals?
5. Explore the relationship of a national Red Cross society to the military authorities of its own country. What are the traditions in this respect in the United States? In other countries? Are military authorities also bound by the Red Cross conventions?
6. How does the classification of camp residents facilitate better care? If you were asked to administer an internment camp in which men, women, and children of all age groups and all health conditions were interned for prolonged residence (e. g., a refugee group) what categories would you seek to establish for the development of separate living quarters, a different daily routine, or other adjustments of group conditions?
7. Develop a plan for convalescent camps for sick prisoners of war or other internees which would afford opportunity for greater care and attention to their physical condition. What are the basic essentials for such a protected camp in contrast to the more traditional camp regulations?

3. The Jacquinot Zone in Shanghai; China, 1938*

For days prior to the ill-fated August 14, 1937, the streets running north and south through Shanghai, and particularly the bridges over the Soochow Creek, were thronged with dense masses of people fleeing southward into the "foreign" areas of Shanghai and through them into Nantao, the native city of Shanghai, and thence into the countryside further to the south.

The foreign areas were estimated at one time to be caring for no fewer than one million refugees;¹ others swelled the population of Nantao and remained there in comparative safety until, early in October, the Japanese succeeded in forcing the Chinese troops north of Shanghai across the Soochow Creek and into the countryside west of the port. It appeared inevitable that destruction would befall Nantao. It was also clear that the foreign districts could not accommodate any more refugees.

It was Father Jacquinot de Besange, S. J., who took the initiative in setting up a section of the native city as a neutral zone in which Chinese civilians could find refuge from the storm of fighting which broke out around them.² It was in all probability the biggest scheme for caring for Chinese refugees since the commencement of the hostilities. For though the foreign areas accommodated approximately an extra million of Chinese, only about 100,000 were cared for in refugee camps. Father Jacquinot's scheme was to provide for the safety of a quarter of a million Chinese in a protected area a little bigger than one-third of the native city.

He formed a committee of residents of Shanghai, the six other members of which were drawn from four different nationalities, and negotiations were undertaken with the Chinese and Japanese authorities to establish the neutral zone. The Chinese readily consented, and on November 5 the Japanese consul-general wrote to Father Jacquinot as follows:

In regard to your noble and worthy efforts to save the civilian population in the Chinese City from the deplorable consequences of warfare, I should like to inform you that I have transmitted to our Military and Naval authorities your intimation that in response to your request the Chinese authorities gave a signed pledge to the effect that the district in the Chinese City which is bounded on the eastern, western and northern sides of Min Kuo Road and on the southern side of Fong Pang Road would be reserved exclusively for the civilian population and that there would be neither any military operations nor any armed hostile acts whatever within the said district.

I have now the pleasure of confirming that the Japanese Military and Naval authorities, strongly moved by humanitarian considerations and in cognizance of the guarantee offered by the Chairman of the International Red Cross Committee as well as the assurance that any violation of the said district, which will be guarded by special

*Adapted from [The Nantao Area Supervisory Committee], *The Story of "The Jacquinot Zone"; Shanghai, China* (Shanghai, The Committee [1938]), pp. 1-19.

policemen, will be reported at once, have agreed that they will not attack the said district so long as it remains to be an area exclusively for the civilian population and entirely free from any military operations or armed hostile acts as is guaranteed.

The committee was now faced with the problem of making something like a small municipality out of the section of the native city which was to be a sanctuary. Although the skyscrapers and plate glass of modern Shanghai are only a mile away, Nantao itself is a typically Chinese city which can be repeated by the dozen inland; within is a maze of tiny streets, few of which run for more than a hundred yards before turning a right angle, many where two rickshas have to go carefully in passing, and all paved unevenly with sharp stones. The houses lead into each other, filling solidly all the space between the streets; in general the rooms of each house center on a tiny square courtyard whose top light, two stories up, is all the lighting the lower rooms get.

In such a district which was crowded with fear-stricken refugees, the committee had the tasks of arranging for policing and maintaining order, of feeding the refugees, of clothing them, and generally making all that necessary provision which the Chinese were unable to make for themselves.³

In the few days between November 6, when the formulation of the zone was commenced, and its official opening, thousands of Chinese had milled around the gates closing the French Concession from the Nantao area, hoping against hope that the French authorities would let them into the only area of safety they knew. The sights to be seen during those days were heart-rending and those who witnessed them realized the importance of the work which this international committee was doing.

On November 9 the scheme was put into effect. Fong Pang Road, the southern boundary of the safety area, was protected by barbed wire entanglements, but as for the rest there was no other than the geographical limitation of the boundary. The policing was done by the Nantao Police Bureau, armed only with pistols and batons instead of with the additional rifle. The agreement provided that the area should be under Chinese civilian administration, and the purely civilian side of the undertaking was emphasized in making the arrangements.

By November 13 it was announced that some hundred thousand refugees within the safety area were completely destitute and for several days past had been without water and light supplies. Normally the area would be supplied by the Nantao Waterworks and Light Plant, but when war entered into the area these services ceased, and one of the first important developments was the successful negotiations by Father Jacquinot with the French Concession whereby light and water supplies were extended to this town of refugees.

Several Chinese relief organizations supplied as much as 40,000 loaves of bread and hard cake daily for the sustenance of the refugees. But at the gates of the French Concession, amongst the thousands com-

pletely destitute and still hoping the gates would open and allow them to come into the concession, the few who had money were imploring others on the French side of the barriers to take it and buy food for them.

The difficulties of maintaining adequate control within the area was rendered all the more severe by the fighting that was going on all around it, and the terrifying scenes at night when areas just outside the zone went up in flames. Perhaps one of the most important features of the work of the committee was the daily attendance of its members in the zone and the confidence which their presence there inspired among the people. It is one of the very few pleasant facts in connection with the hostilities around Shanghai that the Japanese were most punctilious in their observance of the zone; it was claimed that not a single shell or bomb had fallen into the special area during the fighting which had taken place around it.

On November 15 the control of the safety zone passed into the hands of the Japanese military, but the supervisory committee continued to look after the internal affairs of this sector reserved for the refugees. Police chosen by and from the refugees themselves, armed with revolvers and batons, continued to maintain order in the zone, while Japanese military patrols, though they occasionally carried out a tour of inspection, were not officially on duty there. The Japanese did not have the facilities for caring for the quarter of a million refugees in the district, and the Shanghai International Red Cross expected to continue to co-operate with the Japanese for some time, while the supervisory committee, headed by Father Jacquinot, prepared to carry on until such time as the Japanese felt capable of handling the affairs of the safety zone unaided.⁴ The work was indeed too great for any single organization to handle, and a gradual evolution of responsibility brought into operation various relief groups working in co-ordination with the supervisory committee. Thus the Red Swastika Society took over responsibility for the medical work; the National Child Welfare Association undertook to care for destitute children; while a very necessary midwifery service had to be brought into operation.⁵

There are still about 140,000 refugees in Nantao, and the task of aiding them is being continued. Medical work in Nantao has been assisted by the International Red Cross Committee and the Franciscan sisters of the Convent of the Sacred Heart. The convent has passes for ten sisters daily, but the ambulance which brings them is not admitted. The sisters leave before night; three Chinese hospital boys stay all night.

The hospital is a large, perfectly new Chinese house, whose owner was forced to abandon it as soon as the furnishing was completed. An excellently equipped out-patient clinic deals with over 300 cases a day. The safety zone has also a very good maternity hospital with forty-five beds. Babies picked up off the street are brought here.

It is the Franciscan sisters and the Jesuit priests who make contact

between the hospital and the people in their houses. They are provided by the clinic with simple medicines: aspirin, bicarbonate of soda, iodine, and antiseptic plasters. It is they whom the people get to know and depend upon; as they go in white gowns through the general griminess of the streets Chinese patients will dart from the doorways to request more of the medicine that did them good last week.

The sisters locate the serious cases and try to transfer them to the hospital or persuade them to visit the clinic, but as they have no money at their disposal, they cannot supply ricksha fare for the poorest patients, or the hospital may have no space, or the patient may refuse to come. In addition to medicines they also distribute a thousand pieces of whole bread each day, for which the children wait in crowds.

Owing to the restrictions imposed by the controlling Japanese authorities, the number of workers allowed into Nantao has no proportion to the amount of urgent work that needs to be done there. These workers however could give far more adequate help to a much wider circle if they were adequately supported financially.

Until these people can return in safety to their humble homes in the country, they must be fed and cared for, and when the time comes funds will be needed to re-establish them upon the soil.

The following documents testify to the international appreciation accorded to the committee:

Letter from Mr. Koki Hirota, Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tokio, to Father Jacquinot, December 8, 1937 (translation)

Thanks to your courageous intervention between the Chinese and Japanese authorities, in complete disregard of the greatest dangers, a refugee zone was created in Nantao, at the time when our forces dislodged Chinese troops, thus sparing from the worst fate about 100,000 peaceful and innocent Chinese inhabitants.

I wish particularly to convey to you the sentiments of admiration and respect of the Japanese nation towards your humanitarian task, which was accomplished in a spirit of complete service and sacrifice.

Letter from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, to Father Jacquinot, March 9, 1938 (translation)

When operations against the aggressing invaders were at their height, Sungkiang and Shanghai fell into the hands of our foes. Our brothers again suffered bitter calamity similar to their experience in the recent war in Chapei (28.1.32). Having neither a piece of tile to shelter themselves nor a peck of grain in their possession, they were brought through cold and hunger to a state approaching death. They numbered more than 200,000.

They owed their lives to the philanthropic and unceasing valuable efforts of your good self and the members of the Refugee Relief Commission. I, Chung Cheng, while being unworthily in command of the national forces, have been deeply interested in this and beg hereby to express the most sincere and earnest thanks on behalf of my people.

Letter from Admiral H. E. Yarnell, Commander-in-Chief, United States Asiatic Fleet, Shanghai, to Father Jacquinot, April 9, 1938.

When the final history is written of the tragic events that have taken place in Shanghai for the past nine months the outstanding characters will be the devoted men and women whose untiring efforts ensured food and shelter to a vast horde of refugees driven from their homes by war.

Your own efforts in securing a neutral zone where over two hundred thousand people were fed and housed under your direction mark an achievement that will be known to future generations as one of the greatest cases of relief work in recorded history.

The committee itself estimated the importance of its work in these words:

We devised a formula⁸ for minimizing the danger and alleviating the suffering of the civilian population. Then we left nothing untried until our formula had been agreed to by the two warring nations.

We entertain a legitimate hope that this formula which has passed the test of practical experience and has saved a large population of non-combatants in China (although we were greatly handicapped by our inexperience and the local difficulties) might also prove of use in other circumstances and surroundings.

The committee fully realizes that the completion of this scheme was made possible only through the sympathetic co-operation of the Chinese and Japanese authorities.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. List some of the usual services offered by national and foreign aid organizations to civilian refugees and evacuees in flight and in temporary quarters.
2. Outline the major steps in the creation of a neutral zone or a sanctuary. What types of guarantees and basic agreements are necessary before it can be established?
3. What practical measures are necessary to ensure the safe dwelling of a large number of civilians of all ages and health conditions in a restricted urban area which has normally maintained a much less numerous population? List essential requirements for safety, health, education, and daily support which need to be available for general service.
4. Can refugees participate responsibly in maintaining order in other respects than those mentioned in the record and in providing the essentials for community life? How can foreign service workers, such as those representing the Nantao Committee, aid effectively in the development of self-help activities?
5. The record mentions a number of agencies as co-operating within the area with a certain division of function. How can good co-operation and full coverage of all necessary needs be best achieved when authorities and resources for meeting the needs are not lodged within one agency? Are we justified in assuming that each agency will handle the service in which it is most interested in such a way that the sum total of all services will, by and large, meet the *total* need of the area?
6. What was the committee's "formula"? In what way did it differ from that used in the development of a huge refugee camp?

II. Building Community Services

A. Providing Food and Clothing

First Aid and Temporary Emergency Services

4. Feeding Operations in a Famine Area; Russia, 1922*

The Americans first met the local Mennonite organization in Alexandrowsk on February 24, 1922, to locate the neediest settlements and to make plans for getting started.¹ Chortitza, Halbstadt, and Gnadenfeld Volosts seemed to everyone the logical places to begin. On the afternoon of the 24th, the Americans went to Chortitza and began the work of organizing there. On March 3 committees were appointed in Halbstadt and Gnadenfeld.² In the meantime office and warehouse arrangements had to be made, almost over night. There was no time to lose if the A. M. R. (American Mennonite Relief) was to accomplish its one great purpose—keeping as many of the people as possible alive until the new crop could be harvested. A suitable building was secured for office and living quarters, and an idle flour mill, formerly owned by a wealthy Mennonite, for the warehouse. On March 3 the supplies that had been brought directly from America by way of Constantinople were unloaded into the warehouse at Alexandrowsk.

But troubles were only beginning. The winter snows had delayed the whole American Relief Administration shipping program. Food ordered in Moscow in January was still not in sight in Alexandrowsk in February. Convoyers were hurried to Kharkov, the nearest A. R. A. warehouse. On March 11 they brought six cars of food, worth \$10,000, to Alexandrowsk. This shipment was split: half of it was sent to Chortitza and the other half to Halbstadt. On March 16 the first meal was given in the Chortitza village kitchen. The children came, with their plates and spoons, received their portions, and sat down to eat. It was a sight worth all the effort it had cost—the many months of waiting and planning to do actual relief work in Russia. On March 20 kitchens began operating in Halbstadt Volost, and on March 25, in Gnadenfeld Volost.

One of the greatest problems at the beginning of the work was to keep the kitchens supplied with food after they were started.³ Ice in the

*Adapted from P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller, *Feeding the Hungry; Russia Famine; 1919-1925* (Scottdale, Penna., Mennonite Central Committee, 1929), pp. 214-220. By permission of P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller.

Baltic ports of Russia, tardy plans to bring in food by way of the south via Odessa and Theodosia, and the whole shipping situation within Russia itself, had so delayed the program of the A. R. A. that it was difficult for that organization to deliver the food. On March 22 six more cars of food arrived at Alexandrowsk, and these were forwarded as soon as possible. By borrowing several carloads of food from the A. R. A. and the Holland Mennonite Relief, and by using part of a special shipment of flour which arrived from Newton, Kansas, it was possible to keep the kitchens going, except for several breaks of three or four days in some villages. It was not until June 14, when shipments began to arrive from Odessa, that there was some reserve in the Alexandrowsk warehouse. Soon after that it was possible to stop increasing the number of persons fed, and to maintain a larger margin of safety.

It was constantly a question to know how rapidly the work dared be spread, without running too great a risk of having to close down what had already been begun. From the beginning in March the great need in Prischib Volost—a German Lutheran and Catholic settlement adjoining the Molotschna—had demanded consideration. Conditions were really worse there than in the Molotschna. The A. R. A. was not spreading its work rapidly enough in the Ukraine to get to Prischib for some time, and in the meantime over one hundred people were dying in a week out of a population of 12,000. It was decided to allocate \$1000 of food to begin feeding in Prischib at once. On March 26 the organization was effected, and during the first week in April kitchens began operating there. In a few months the A. R. A. was on the ground, ready to begin feeding, and then Prischib was turned over to that organization.

The unit or organization selected for work was usually a volost, corresponding to several townships and having as many as 20,000 inhabitants scattered in five to twenty villages. A volost committee was formed, which was responsible to the Alexandrowsk office of the A. M. R. for all feeding work done in the volost. In each village there was a committee, responsible in turn to the volost committee. The village committee arranged for the kitchen, chose the neediest people according to specific A. M. R. instructions,⁴ procured food from the volost warehouse, and proceeded to issue to those needy people their one cooked ration daily. This was, as nearly as possible, the standard A. R. A. ration⁵ of 778 calories, 9220 grams of dry food, based on a weekly menu which varied somewhat with the supplies available, but which consisted, for the most part, of bread every day, cocoa twice weekly, beans once or twice weekly, and the rest of the time rice or corn-grits cooked with sugar and milk. The bread nearly everywhere was baked in biscuits weighing one-fourth of a pound. The other part of the ration filled an ordinary soup plate to the rim. One meal a day was not much, but the food was of such good quality and so well prepared that it brought the color back into the faces of the children and kept it there. In one village a record was kept

of the weight of the children. After several weeks of feeding they began to gain until their weight was about normal. Of the adults this was not so generally true. Some of them continued to lose in spite of the fact that they were getting their rations every day—at least that was true until spring gardens began to help out somewhat.

The ration was based on the idea of supplementing, rather than of being the whole food supply for the day. Most of the people managed to get some other food a large part of the time, even though it was of poor quality.

The difficulty of getting an adequate supply of food during the first ten months of A. M. R. operations made it necessary to keep the number of rations down to the lowest figure. The local people could not appreciate all that was involved in the problem of keeping demand from exceeding supply. An echo of their dissatisfaction regarding the methods of the A. M. R. on this point came back from America to Russia, and makes an explanation necessary.

The A. M. R. had, to begin operations in the Ukraine, about \$10,000 per month, which would feed about 13,000 people. How was it to keep the lists down to that number, and still save as many people as possible? It was soon evident to the committees that the original feeding lists, hastily prepared, would have to be revised. The A. M. R. assumed: (1) that those who were giving the money were interested primarily in saving lives—not as some liked to put it, in making love gifts to particular groups; and (2) that the only way to fulfill this primary obligation was to begin at the bottom—with the very poorest and neediest—in the places where feeding was being done. On this basis the first instructions had been to put into the first category—which was to be fed as far as possible—only those families that had no food, no possibility of procuring any, and not more than one cow. Even in these families, one person was shut out for the possession of any one of the following: each horse fit to work, each quart of milk received, each sheep, every ten chickens. A man with two cows was for the moment considered wealthy, because he still had the possibility of exchanging one of those for bread. The man with neither cows nor horses was poorer than he. Some of the people protested against what seemed to them to be an arbitrary ruling, and one that militated against the possibility of their getting on their feet later. "Shall we dispose of our cows and horses now that spring is almost here?" they asked. The A. M. R. was forced to reply, "Choose for yourself. We cannot possibly keep you all alive." One man who had two cows and several sheep, on which account he was not permitted into the kitchen, preferred lying in bed, his feet swollen from the effects of hunger, to parting with his livestock. Another man permitted his ten-year-old son to die of starvation, rather than sell one of his cows. Some of the people felt differently. "What is the use of my saving? It only keeps me out of the American kitchen a while longer!" One well-to-do man said, "My relatives in

America write that they are sending money to help and, hope that we are enjoying the nice white bread. Why do we not get any of it?" One group of people thought that we ought to help those who knew how to help themselves if they had the possibility, since they must ultimately take care of the poor in any case.

After the kitchens had operated for several months, and the need had been studied, the first category was divided into the following groups: (1) children under fifteen, adults over sixty, and the sick; (2) nursing and expectant mothers; (3) women between fifteen and sixty, not in group 2; (4) men between fifteen and sixty. The first three groups were fed most of the time. By June there was enough reserve in the A. M. R. warehouses so that it was possible to feed also the neediest men, and to include some members of such families as did not have more than two horses or two cows. This was continued until after harvest time.

Later, some adult feeding was done by giving each needy person a daily ration of a pound of dry corn-grits or whole rye flour, to be prepared at home. This plan also proved very helpful.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How would you proceed to locate the "neediest settlements" in a poverty-stricken area? To what extent would you use information of local individuals or use your own judgment? If your decision is based on information obtained locally, to whom would you turn as key persons?
2. Which local groups should be represented on a local committee dealing with feeding problems? Would you also turn to individuals for co-operation on this committee?
3. How can the exhaustion of supplies be avoided in the midst of a feeding program? What reserves would you consider desirable? On what factors does such consideration of a local reserve depend? What has been the established policy in maintaining reserves as protection in some of the large-scale feeding operations abroad?
4. What problems and choices are involved in selecting beneficiaries? If you do not have enough supplies or funds to feed all needy people whom would you select: (a) the youngest or oldest, or any other specific age group; (b) those who are sick; (c) those who are most destitute; (d) those who are most undernourished; (e) those who apply first? How do you determine and measure "need" in relation to each of the groups listed? How much time may be spent on careful selection? Discuss possible shorter methods.
5. How does the composition of the ration affect local feeding arrangements: (a) in relation to warehousing; (b) in relation to kitchen facilities; and (c) in relation to the staff required.

5. A Community Kitchen in Operation; Russia, 1922*

The kitchens operated by the A. M. R. (American Mennonite Relief) in South Russia during the famine of 1922 were usually located in the most suitable building¹ available, as near the center of the village as convenient. Sometimes this was one of the larger private homes, but more often it was the public school building or a part thereof. The schools were practically all closed on account of the famine during the first spring and summer of our work, which made these commodious buildings available for our purpose. This kitchen was supplied with one or more large iron kettles, holding from forty to fifty gallons each. With these the cooking equipment usually was considered complete. For the baking of the bread, large ovens were built of brick. In one of the larger villages I observed the construction of a brick oven large enough to supply a biscuit apiece² for each of the 1300 then eating in the kitchen. The necessary benches, tables, and chairs were usually borrowed, or cheaply constructed so as to provide a suitable place for eating.

Because of the large quantities of food that had to be prepared it took several hours to do the cooking. On the days when beans or corn-grits were served fire was usually started quite early in the morning, because all food was required to be thoroughly cooked before it was served. Rice and corn-grits were cooked with the addition of sugar, evaporated milk, and a little lard. Cocoa, which was served twice a week, was thickened with milk to make it more nourishing. All rations were required to be alike. It was absolutely essential that each of the hundreds of diners should receive their full share, and at the same time it was necessary that no more than enough food be prepared. This necessitated careful calculating and measuring,³ both for the material to be prepared as well as in dishing out the prepared food. But the cooks learned to do this so accurately that in several hundred rations they usually did not miss it more than just a few portions. The small remainders⁴ were usually sent to some needy hospital or other institution. For the sake of accuracy it was found most advantageous to determine the exact size or weight of the biscuit before baking, because this assured greater uniformity and less waste and trouble.

Mealtime was usually set around eleven o'clock in the morning. While the food was being prepared, the mealticket holders would be gathering outside with their plates and spoons, so as to be on hand when the doors opened. Their ragged and patched clothing, and their thin faces, told all too plainly the story of hunger and need. Yet there was a general feeling of good cheer, and an expression of satisfaction on their

*Adapted from P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller, *Feeding the Hungry; Russia Famine; 1919-1925* (Scottdale, Penna., Mennonite Central Committee, 1929), pp. 236-239. By permission of P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller.

faces, because they were eagerly anticipating the satisfaction of appeasing their appetites in the "American Kitchen."

When the noon hour had come, the door swung open and the people filed past the door-keeper who directed, so that everything went orderly.⁵ As they entered each presented his card to the secretary, who marked or punched the same for the day, and checked off the name of each person on his list. In this matter we were required to be very careful, in order to avoid repeaters. Someone might take one meal, then go out through the back door and return to enter again for the second portion; or if he did not come back there might be the temptation to let some friend go through on the same card. For this reason each card was carefully marked for the day. After they had entered the room with their plates they filed past the large kettles filled with steaming hot, palatable, and nourishing food, where waiters served each with an exactly equal portion. Then each was given a biscuit, after which they found places to sit down and eat. One member of the village committee was always present to see that everything went smoothly and to check up on the condition of the people.

Some of the children came alone, because they were the only ones in their family so favored as to receive an admission card. Others came with their mothers, both showing the effects of their previous starvation diet. And how they did eat! Some of the youngsters, after scraping their plates as clean as they could, licked them out all ready for the next day's use. The appetite of all seemed good, and complaint about the food was never heard. On one occasion, a group of boys who were just enjoying their noon-day meal were asked what kind of American food they liked the best. For a moment they looked at each other and the questioner in bewilderment, then replied in a chorus, "Everything!"

For the sick and the children under three the food was carried home by a member of the family or by an obliging neighbor. The workers and the members of the committees, who were on duty, received two rations of food a day—not as pay, but that they might have enough strength to enable them to give their time to the work. In some cases it was found necessary to supplement this with a food package. With only a few exceptions, the workers stayed by their tasks very faithfully, in spite of the criticism and unpleasant things that often fell to their lot in the discharge of their duties.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What essential arrangements make a building "suitable" for a large kitchen? How would you select it with regard to location, type of building, and accessibility?
2. It is usually impossible to have individual rolls or biscuits for each person because of the equipment and time involved in preparation. Suggest several different ways of using in the simplest possible manner the rather substantial allotment of flour within the ration.

3. How can those who prepare food in large quantities be aided in obtaining accurate measurements of quantity in the absence of measuring devices? Develop suggestions around the use of standard containers.
4. How would you dispose of left-overs of prepared food if, despite careful planning and measuring, not all the food has been consumed at every meal? Consider various causes which might produce substantial quantities of left-overs? Can anything be done to: (a) cut down on left-over food; (b) dispose of left-over food in a way which will produce results in line with the objectives of feeding and the basic principles used in the selection of recipients?
5. Devise a simple and orderly method for distribution of meals to a large group of people arriving at the same time where attendance must be checked. Can the same method be used for children and also for adults?

6. Joys and Sorrows of a Large Child-Feeding Center; Hungary, 1919-1920*

The town that teemed with sounds of a thousand industrial activities a few short years ago is as quiet as a churchyard. It is but a forest of smokeless factory chimneys and deserted streets. Occasionally, a dilapidated street car or a creaking old cart, drawn by a horse as impoverished as the cart, passes by.

For two years the factories have not operated due to unprocurable fuel and raw materials to the extent that even reduced production has been impossible. There is no employment for the inhabitants or the refugees from occupied territories. Thus it happened that Ujpest, the Newark of Hungary, has become a sad, sleepy town and that 7,000 of her little ones became protégés of the American Relief Administration European Children's Fund.

However, there is now one quarter of Ujpest that is full of life and merry voices. This miracle occurs daily between the hours of ten and two at the Wolfner leather goods factory, which is not being operated because of existing conditions. The personnel of this factory in prewar times numbered 3,000 and during the war 8,000, for whose benefit a large, well-appointed kitchen and dining-hall had been operated. It was an incredible stroke of good fortune that this location was secured and thanks are due to the owners for their generosity.

It proved no easy task to organize in a few days a kitchen and dining hall that had not been used for two years, in order to feed 5,000 of the 7,000 children to whom we serve a noon-day meal in Ujpest.¹ To the townsfolk of Ujpest it seemed impossible, and disaster was freely predicted. They said that the walk from the schools would be too long, for which reason most of the children would not come and those who did come would be so unruly that they could not be managed; that the school teachers could not and would not take the responsibility of bringing the children to the feeding station; and, finally, that it was impossible to have 5,000 rations prepared and distributed in one feeding station.² But the plan was carried out.

The owners, who have done considerable welfare work amongst their former employees, immediately perceiving the importance of feeding as many of the little folks as possible under one roof instead of operating and supervising a dozen small kitchens and dining-halls, detailed every available carpenter and blacksmith to prepare the place for immediate occupancy.³ The dining-hall that had been used as a lumber room for two years was cleared and cleaned; long uniform tables and benches

*Adapted from American Relief Administration European Children's Fund, *Final Report of the Work in Hungary Written by the Members of the American Child Welfare Mission* (Budapest, The Fund, 1920), pp. 10-13.

were unearthed, repaired and placed; the kitchen was renovated; the big steam cauldrons were scoured and tested; a special side street entrance was erected; a courtyard boarded up; a store room made; and within one week instructions were given to begin operations.

It was then that our real difficulties began. Our feeding station was in bedlam the first day. The children certainly set out on the principle "I came first and the devil take the others". The kitchen and dining-hall were stormed; benches were broken and tables upturned; the women distributing the food were bowled over; the few teachers present seemed powerless, and it was indeed strange that the only damage done was to benches, pots and pans and not to heads and limbs, for plates and spoons were freely used to settle differences of opinion.⁴

In all, the children of Ujpest certainly lived up to their reputation, but what else could be expected? These children, as in Hungary generally, have had years of enforced holidays—a period in which their morale and physique had suffered tremendously. Fathers and older brothers have been away at the front and mothers had been forced to fight the battle of life unsupported. The schools had been closed chiefly because there was no coal with which to heat them. Women and children had stood for many weary hours in queues (often from midnight until late next morning) in order to receive provisions, sometimes only to return empty-handed because there were not enough foodstuffs for all. Thus, the children were left to a life of idleness without supervision or discipline. Imagine a crowd of 5,000 New York street Arabs let loose where they knew cocoa, milk, and rice were to be distributed free of charge, and you will have a picture of what happened.

But the picture is changed now. Order has grown out of chaos. From day to day the behavior of our little guests changed. Instead of sulky and cross little souls, irritated because of rules and regulations enforced, we met with bright smiles and readiness of the larger ones to help the smaller ones. Even on the days when cocoa, milk and rice are served, when temptation is the greatest, the rule against carrying their food home is seldom broken, though, in the beginning, it seemed impossible to prevent wholesale carrying away of food. Now the children have learned to understand the meaning of this rule, and they can be heard to explain to each other—"Don't you know that if you don't eat up all your food you will not grow strong, and if you have a cold or sore throat your little sister or brother will have it too, if you give them what remains of your food?"⁵

A reduction of our program has made it necessary to examine the 7,000 children of Ujpest in order to determine which children need our help most, and an unpleasant task it proved to be. As one looks at the ragged little barefooted fellows with their anxious faces, one's heart aches. Almost all need our help so urgently, and well did they realize what was going on. Repeatedly came the question, "Do I weigh too

much? Can't I come any more?" To have to reply, "You can still come until you are told you must stay away," knowing that this child is one of five fatherless ones, that this one has a sick mother, that this one's father is an unreturned prisoner of war, etc., is a tragedy. Yet the scales must be our criterion, the only impartial one in this weeding out process, for we want to make absolutely certain that the children selected for the summer feeding are selected on the basis of physical condition.⁶

It would not be proper to assert that occasional violent arguments between members of rival schools do not occur at all. We often have as many as 1000 children in the dining-hall at the same time. How could they be avoided? But in general there is a spirit of thankfulness, helpfulness and comradeship rapidly developing. The rowdy gangs have been broken up, at least as far as our territory is concerned, and another type of gang—a group of boy scouts—is quickly growing into a solid nucleus, from which further social activities might easily be developed.⁷

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of using a large feeding center as a method for serving prepared meals?
2. Consider various methods of transporting hot food in large quantities to decentralized neighborhood feeding centers, e. g. to a number of local schools where food will be served but not prepared. Develop a complete plan for such distribution which will protect the food against loss and spoilage, will safeguard the sending of the right quantities to each feeding center, and will, at the same time, keep overhead costs as low as possible.
3. Would it have been advisable to make the organization and equipment of the center a community project which would have given parents, teachers, and children some opportunity for sharing in the undertaking? How could this have been arranged?
4. How could these difficulties have been anticipated and avoided?
5. Do you consider the rule against carrying food home completely valid? If so, how could it be enforced without creating new conflicts and problems?
6. Is the weight of children actually the only impartial criterion in sorting out those who may not be continued in the service? Would you consider it desirable to continue feeding children for an indefinite time even if large numbers had to be disregarded despite need?
7. Discuss a plan for developing various recreational activities for children in relation to the service described in the record. What type of help would be required in order to supplement the feeding with a constructive recreational program?

7. Aiding Middle Class Families; Hungary and Austria, 1920-1922*

An American benevolent fund gave \$62,500 for the Hungarian intellectual middle class and entrusted the American Relief Administration at Budapest with the distribution of food packages. We began the distribution on July 29th, 1920, and finished January 10th, 1921.

The average monthly salary of an intellectual person amounts to 1500 crowns, which is hardly enough for the most necessary expenses. People are obliged to sell jewels, pianos, furniture, and often their linens and clothing to buy the most necessary foodstuffs. Many applied to us for help. We investigated such cases, calling on the applicants in order to convince ourselves of their condition.¹

First of all we helped parents having many children, also sick people, pregnant women and nursing mothers, widows and orphans of the intellectual middle class. Second, we requested the associations of judges, attorneys, lawyers, clergymen, doctors, professors, teachers, engineers, journalists, writers, artists, and actors to send us lists of their members that we might be able to investigate the urgent cases and help them.²

Experience taught us that the families of professors, teachers, writers, artists and pensioned people were the most needy. Many pensioned people desired to start work again, but there was a great lack of work and in case of vacancies young people were preferred to old.³ We heard frequently of poor people who were ashamed to apply to us though living in great misery. We sent a food package to the home of such needy people.⁴ We endeavored to reach all needy families regardless of their religious belief or political affiliations.

In order to help university students we gave foodstuffs valued at \$8000 to the four largest university students' kitchens.

Each package contained the following foodstuffs:

11.1 kilograms flour	8 tins condensed milk
4.5 kilograms rice	1 kilogram sugar
3.6 kilograms bacon	0.5 kilogram cocoa

In the case of Jewish families, oil was substituted for bacon. This quantity of foodstuffs was sufficient for a person to make 105 meals.

Characteristic examples: (1) Janos Jokai, a pensioned post and telegraph chief controller, aged 69, suffered from gout and the weakness of old age. He had no income other than his very small pension. When we called on this man, he and his wife were eating their dinner consisting of

*Adapted from two sources: (1) Mrs. J. N. Laurvik, "American Aid For the Hungarian Intellectual Middle-Class," *American Relief Administration Bulletin*, Series 2, No. 14 (July 1, 1921), pp. 21-23; (2) "Intelligentsia Program for Austria; A Report From the Austrian Mission," *American Relief Administration Bulletin*, Series 2, No. 25 (June, 1922), pp. 40-47.

barley coffee in the kitchen, as they had no fuel to heat their rooms. (2) Adolph Gottlieb, engineer, was unable to work on account of the serious nerve disease contracted during the war. His monthly income was 200 crowns. His wife was in an asylum. Their flat was absolutely empty. When we called on the family, the two small children were eating a mixture of water-soup and black bread for dinner. A relative who was supposed to take care of the family, we found in a sick condition, lying on the bare floor, as they have no bedding.

This charitable action ended four months ago, but conditions have not improved since that time.

\$230,000 for the needy intelligentsia classes of Austria was donated by the American Relief Administration, which received the money from the Cleveland Community Chest, the American Joint Distribution Committee, each contributing \$100,000, and the Commonwealth Fund of New York City, contributing \$30,000. The general lines of the internal allocation of this gift are:

Middle class kitchens of Vienna	\$60,000 ⁵
Dollar package and institution distributions	60,000
Professor and student feeding	40,000
Provincial feeding and package distributions	40,000
Reserve fund	30,000
	<hr/>
	\$230,000

As the ground work for the entire action had been laid prior to the Commonwealth Fund donation, we set aside this sum as a reserve to be applied later when we had an opportunity to determine the comparative needs of the above general divisions.

From the beginning of this work, we emphasized the fact that this gift is exclusively for the relief of the intelligentsia classes of Austria, and in communicating with the various organizations we have informed them that we consider the following persons within the range of this category: (1) persons such as scientists, artists and other intellectual workers who have no proper market for their products and whose income is entirely inadequate; (2) disabled persons unable to earn a living, including pensionists, widows, orphans; (3) all other intellectual workers whose income is not in proportion to the number of family members they have to support.

The various organizations co-operating with us have been requested to take a rather liberal view regarding the professional categories coming within the limits of this action. However, we have emphasized our desire that strict rules should be applied as to the worthiness⁶ of the cases selected.

There are a number of middle class organizations in Vienna, some

of which have been in existence for years, while others have arisen in the postwar period by the union of various professional groups into societies for the common purchasing of foodstuffs, clothing, etc. We addressed a circular letter to these organizations in which we requested them to state the purpose of the organization, the total membership and the relative needs of their members. Approximately 135 such organizations are co-operating with us.

We were also confronted with the problem of selecting non-organized members of the middle classes who were unable to join the above mentioned organizations. We established a registration office for these people; the procedure was the filling out of an application form,⁷ the statements of which were corroborated by the individual's official identification card. To date, 5200 non-organized persons have applied for the intelligentsia action, of which number 423 have been accepted for the Vienna feeding kitchens and 680 for the food package distribution.

In connection with the distribution of this fund, we have requested the assistance of the established community kitchens.⁸ At the present writing approximately 80 kitchens have willingly offered assistance. The A. R. A. delivers the intelligentsia commodities to these kitchens on a unit basis for each additional guest fed on our behalf. In the majority of cases the kitchen leaders have agreed to give A. R. A. guests the regular kitchen menu, including meat and vegetables, as served to the regular members, using our foodstuffs for the benefit of all members of their kitchen.

An estimate of the entire cost, including freight expenses Hamburg to Vienna, internal carrying cost etc., led us to the decision to charge a definite contribution fee for all foodstuffs distributed. We are charging 200 kronen weekly for each free ticket issued to A. R. A. guests and one half the weekly menu price of the respective kitchens for holders of half-free tickets.⁹ For example, in a community kitchen charging a weekly price of 1400 kronen for seven days, the holder of a half-free ticket would pay 700 kronen, of which sum approximately 375 kronen would be remitted to the A. R. A. The number of guests fed in community kitchens in Vienna and the provincial cities is checked by a system of monthly and weekly tickets. By April 1st we expect to be feeding about 12,000 daily in Vienna kitchens and 5000 in the provincial kitchens.

After investigation, we decided to allocate the \$30,000 held in reserve to be distributed chiefly in food package form to individuals in Vienna, and to institutions¹⁰ and individuals in the provinces. Many provincial cities have been known in past years as pension homes for the middle classes. Their income today is totally insufficient for the daily food requirements. We found many institutions for pensioners in excellent shape so far as cleanliness and order were concerned. However, we were assured that without the A. R. A. assistance at this particularly critical period all of them would have been forced to close their doors.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What basic information should you have in order to determine whether aid should be given a family? From what local source would you expect to obtain such information?
2. Do you consider the method of co-operation with the various professional organizations sound for the given purpose? Would the associations be willing to turn over their membership lists? Could they help in the selection of needy members in some other way? Why should the "intellectual middle class" be helped as a separate group?
3. Why should people living on pensions be particularly hard hit? Would this be true under any circumstance, or is the statement related to a specific economic situation?
4. How could you help people who are "too proud" to apply for help? Do you approve of the method described? How would you handle the problem if a large number of persons held this attitude?
5. Community restaurants operated on a non-profit basis are an important means for the feeding of people at a comparatively low cost. Such local services may be strengthened by foreign agencies through the contribution of foodstuffs or other commodities. For what group of people would you consider a service connected with a non-profit restaurant particularly useful? What advantages has the restaurant in contrast to an emergency feeding center located in a school or in other public places?
6. What does "worthiness" mean? Whom would you exclude as unworthy?
7. Prepare a sample application form. What information should be requested on such a form? What use would you make of the information thus obtained?
8. Discuss the validity of charging for the various tickets issued for non-profit restaurants. Is it satisfactory to have different charges for different individuals?
9. Could the distribution of these meal tickets at reduced rates be used in connection with various groups whom the agency wishes to help? Would it be possible and desirable to issue these tickets to local public and private social agencies or to professional associations so that they could select suitable recipients among their own groups?
10. Under what conditions would you provide food subsidies to homes for the aged? Try to compare the urgency of institutional needs with the needs of individuals living in their own homes.

8. Foreign Aid with Clothing; Europe, 1920-1922*

It is one of the most common tasks of relief workers to help people with clothing. There are many different ways of doing it; some are less desirable than others, especially from the point of view of the recipient.

Clothing has been rationed in most European countries during the war and the people are accustomed to strict controls of a very small supply of essential goods. The first sketch illustrates a very common situation within such rationing. Against this background the following brief statements should be discussed showing different approaches and different problems related to clothing distribution by foreign service agencies in different parts of postwar Europe.¹

Above the door hangs a signboard: Municipal Clothing Center. Stretching from the entrance far down the little cobbled street is a queue of workers. There are old women among the wizened faces peering from greasy shawls, and there are children. But most of them are slouching, sulky men. They are waiting doggedly to be admitted to the Municipal Office for Clothing Distribution,² where they can buy wooden shoes and half-paper garments cheaply.

It is six in the evening. Those nearest the doorway tell me they have been standing there three hours. The door will not be opened until eight the next morning. They crouch, hundreds of them, through the wintry night in the black shadows. When they speak, it is of the years of misery they have scarcely survived, of their present destitution and unhappiness, or of the grey days to come. Snow begins to fall. A child cries.

A policeman, snugly wrapped in a warm overcoat, approaches. "There's too much noise here," he declares sharply. "Why, you're all going to get clothes, if only you shut up. Where's your gratitude?"

Miss Jones went out to distribute clothes the other day, in a refugee camp on the outskirts where she had been just before the rain set in. She had seen that when it did rain, it was going to be dreadful, as the children were absolutely naked. She sent in her order for old clothes, but there was some sort of mix-up about it and they did not come. In the meantime the rain started, and when she finally got there, she got cross because the people didn't take the baby clothes. At last she said to her interpreter: "Go out there and speak to the crowd and tell the mothers to come and get the clothes for the children." He talked to them, and they told him there were no children left since the rain. They had all died.

Clothing distributions in Moscow, which have been carried out by a committee of ladies³ under the supervision of the District Supervisor for Moscow, have been most satisfactory. Thirty per cent of the clothing

*Adapted from workers' reports from different agencies.

was allocated to homes, 60 per cent to the poorer school children, and 10 per cent retained for individual distribution at food kitchens.

The school allocation was distributed as follows: Great numbers of tickets, written in longhand as below, were prepared by the committee and turned over to the teachers at the various schools,⁴ who distributed them among the children most in need, approximately 25 per cent of the whole. The children were marched to the distribution point at the appointed time, and turning in their tickets, received an article of clothing, the ticket being stamped and held as a receipt.

(Translation) American Relief Administration

Kindergarten No. 2 Krasno—Presnensky District

Nick Baranoff, age 7

To receive one piece of warm clothing, November 19th at the Alexeeff People's House.

Distribution at 11 a. m.

Each child was also given the following printed slip:

(Translation) Gift from the people of the United States to the Russian people through the American Relief Administration.

Approximately 7000 of the receipts have already been given me by the committee and over 10,000 children in Moscow have been assisted.

We have received numerous letters of thanks from the children to whom the clothing has been given. Many of the knitted articles have attached slips of paper giving name and address of donors.

We visited a school for the purpose of distributing pull-overs, and were received most enthusiastically by the head teacher, who loves her small charges. When she realized that we had brought some sweaters for the poorest children, the teachers were not long in lining them up to be clad. This school is in a very poor section. Warm sweaters, in fact all articles of clothing, are badly needed. The children are so short of warm clothes that they take turns at going to school, wearing each other's clothes, so we saw quite a number of small boys wearing their sisters' clothing, or small girls wearing their brothers'—brother staying at home that day.

Twenty-three sweaters and some socks were given out in this school attended by several hundred children.⁵

On leaving, I spotted one little barefoot girl shuffling about with a pair of worn out sandals. On examining her little frozen feet, I found they were covered from toes to heel with chilblains, some of them suppurating. She also had a wound on her ankle, caused by the rubbing of the side of the old sandals. The school has no bandages, and no sterilized cotton can be obtained anywhere now, so these wounds and sores have to care for themselves. Two days later I brought the child a pair of woolen stockings to cover her little thin legs up to the knees. At this

huge piece of good luck the child could hardly speak with emotion. However, many of the poor girls at this school were bitterly disappointed at being left out.

Among the 72,000 pairs of shoes received for distribution, almost 25 per cent were found to be of adult size.⁶ Instructions were issued to committees to distribute these among the neediest of the village kitchen employees, in view of the fact that these employees had worked throughout the winter with no other remuneration than the ration and a half they receive at noontime each day.

Over ten thousand pairs were given out in the city of Kazan to refugees or to persons reported by the American Relief Administration's investigators to be in the direst need. So rapidly did news of this distribution spread through the city that on the morning of the third day A. R. A. officers arrived to find the entire street in front of headquarters blocked by a crowd of more than four thousand people, eagerly awaiting the opportunity to file an application.

In August 1921 it was decided that in order to insure the attendance of the children at the kitchens and schools of Estonia during the coming winter, it would be necessary to provide approximately 10,000 children with shoes and stockings.

In September the Estonian Children's Relief Association received from the American Relief Administration 9,980 pairs of shoes and 9,975 pairs of stockings for distribution to the needy children who had already been registered as lacking shoes and stockings. It was necessary that some sort of program be worked out whereby the distribution would reach the most needy, and to eliminate as far as possible those children who, should they not receive either shoes or stockings, would still be able to attend school. After much consideration the children were divided into two classes as follows:

1. Those children in the compulsory schools whose lack of shoes and stockings prohibited their attendance; orphans or children whose parents were without work and therefore without means.

2. All children of somewhat better circumstances but still in need of material assistance.

After the registration had been completed by the local committees it was found that there would not be enough footwear to meet the needs of all the children, and so it was decided that first consideration should be given to the school children; second, to orphanages and asylums; and third, to the children's colonies.

Having reached a definite basis of distribution and the number of children who were to receive help determined, the shoes and stockings were turned over to the district committees and were given out under the supervision of a representative of the Estonian Children's Relief

Association. Due to the difficulty in fitting each child properly with shoes, the distribution was naturally somewhat delayed; however, the delay was not so great as to prohibit the children attending school regularly, and the distribution was accomplished before the cold weather set in.

Another scheme now being started is the sale of clothes to middle-class people. The mission salesrooms include both new goods made in the workrooms opened here for unemployed women and also second-hand articles sent out from England, which are unsuitable for laboring people. School teachers are the first to be helped in this way. . . . There is no question of ordinary trading in these ration systems started by the mission. Everything sold is sold at a financial loss, except of course in the case of goods that were a free gift to the mission. Nor is there any question of hurting the business of Viennese tradesmen. All the mission stocks are either things which cannot be bought at all in shops or else are far beyond the reach of the people to whom the mission sells them.

Strangers were startled by the sight of children in potato sacks and babies wrapped in paper. The Service Unit distributed both garments and yard material. The latter was made into clothing by unemployed workers in the garment industries and delivered to a central clothing depot. After personal investigation, needy parents were given permits to secure a limited amount of clothing for themselves and their children: three pieces of anything for the babies, two for boys and girls, two for the mother, one for the father. This was furnished at about one-sixth of the cost price, and sometimes given gratis. In this way 250,000 parents and children were aided in 1920-21.

Certain of the educated classes in Central Europe, comprising professors, teachers, scientists, engineers, writers, pensioners and others with fixed incomes, with the salaried middle classes, have been the greatest sufferers during the postwar period. With living costs mounting as high as one hundred times prewar costs, it may be roughly stated that the incomes of these classes have in general not increased more than 25 times prewar, or only one-fourth that of prices. The result has been actual destitution. Large numbers of these people, particularly the educated classes, had not been able to buy clothing since 1917.

In complete and confidential individual investigations of the living conditions of about 175,000 of these people, made by the American Relief Administration in Poland, Austria, and Hungary incident to food relief, this situation as to clothing presented itself in somewhat alarming proportions. The Commonwealth Fund agreed to donate \$150,000 for clothing relief. This sum was placed at the disposal of the A. R. A. in

June 1921, purchases and shipments were immediately made, and the clothing was ready for distribution at the beginning of winter 1921-22.

In Austria, as in every other country, there is little chance for a brain worker to earn his living unless he has decent clothing. Before the announcement of the Commonwealth Fund donation was made public, careful private investigation of individual cases was made, generally through various professional associations or local welfare organizations. The neediest cases were selected among persons of exceptional intelligence, whose services were of real importance in the reconstruction of Austria, and of this group preference was given to those who had not shared in the recent food gift of the Commonwealth Fund.

As in the case of Poland, the mission decided it would be inadvisable to attempt to distribute ready-made adult garments, but distributed cloth and lining cut into the necessary lengths. The clothing was arranged in outfits which consisted of cloth with accessories for one man's suit (or one woman's dress), 2 pairs of socks (or stockings), 2 sets of under-wear, 1 pair of shoes.

In order to provide for the small expenses of transport, unpacking, cutting, distribution, for which no funds were available, each beneficiary was charged a contribution fee of 3000 kronen, worth at that time about 45 cents. The value of one outfit at that time was estimated as about 100,000 kronen. Distribution began on December 12, 1921, and was terminated in the middle of March 1922.

In Hungary state and city governments had offered their educational employees clothing and foodstuffs at greatly reduced prices, hence teachers were in the minority among the beneficiaries of the Commonwealth clothing in this country. The list of 5000 beneficiaries represented the following classifications:

Teachers and professors (1412), state employees (508), clerks, (453), widows and orphans (452), pensioners (310), architects and engineers (235), refugees (220), university students (185), physicians (180), unemployed (147), attorneys and ex-judges (110), journalists (107), actors (97), musicians (78), law students (78), pharmacists (59), sculptors (55), ex-army officers (55), lawyers in private practice (46), writers and authors (44), invalid war veterans (42), painters (41), priests of various faiths (33), ex-police staff (29), applied art (24).

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Compare the different methods of distribution presented in the record with special attention to the following aspects: (a) type of preparation involved; (b) basis of selection of beneficiaries; (c) role of national co-workers; (d) effect of scheme on beneficiaries (convenience, feelings, opportunity for personal selection).
2. Would it be possible and desirable to use an already established system of a municipal clothing depot for the distribution of clothing supplies brought in by foreign aid?

3. Would it be desirable to organize volunteer committees to help with clothing distribution? How could suitable volunteers be found?
4. Should teachers always be invited to serve as volunteers in any service connected with school children?
5. Which plan of distribution would you select if your supplies made possible only one distribution on a gift basis to a few selected individuals? Which plan would you select if you had to develop a plan for the provisioning of clothing to selected groups?
6. Is there any essential difference in method between the distribution of clothing to children and to adults?

9. Food and Clothing Drafts; Russia, 1922*

Early in the period of relief activities it became apparent that some way should be provided for individuals in America to help their relatives and friends in Europe. In normal times this was easy enough, but the upheavals of war, and the aftermath of bitterness and distrust, had disrupted transcontinental communications of all kinds. It was to remedy this condition that the A. R. A. devised the so-called food and clothing remittance system.¹

Its method was as simple as it was practical and consisted in the advancing of ten dollars to the A. R. A., for which that organization agreed to deliver a definitely described variety and quantity of food to some designated person or persons in the land of famine. As with everything else, difficulties arose in connection with this program that threatened to hinder the entire feeding program. One of the main objections raised to start with was that it would feed just a favored few and let the others starve, which necessarily would lead to envy and jealousy, perhaps violence. But since it was only a supplement to the general child-feeding plan, it was possible to offset this by the proviso that one-fourth of the food thus purchased would be deducted from the portion allotted to the individual, and added to the general child-feeding fund.² Thus the objection of the general public would be silenced by the fact that everyone giving special aid, in proportion supported the general feeding plan. On the other hand this food-draft system increased the amount of money given the destitute considerably, because many a person, who perhaps thought that he had already given all that he ought to give, when appealed to by an opportunity to reach a friend or relative, would provide another ten dollars or more.

In order to make it easier for the needy abroad to make direct appeal to their friends in America the A. R. A. issued application cards for food-drafts.³ These were furnished to people in Russia, who then filled in the names and addresses of their friends in America. When individuals had no acquaintances in America, they would write the names and addresses of any person of whom they had heard. If someone had written to a friend in America who had responded quite liberally, he would share his joy with his neighbors and friends, who would then also send requests to some person in America regardless of blood relationship or acquaintance.

Even though there was a provision in the agreement to prevent abuse, it could not be avoided entirely; for it occasionally happened that some person who was himself personally known in America, or had somehow secured a number of addresses, would send out as many as twenty

*Adapted from P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller, *Feeding the Hungry; Russia Famine; 1919-1925* (Scottdale, Penna., Mennonite Central Committee, 1929), pp. 277-284. By permission of P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller.

or more requests, in the hope that should a number miscarry, the others might bring food for himself and his children. As a result some people received more than their share of food packages, while others just as needy received none. For this reason, we were obliged to counsel American friends to make most of their contributions to the general fund and buy food remittances only when they wished to help special friends or acquaintances. For child-feeding, ten dollars in the general fund would go a good deal farther than a food remittance of the same amount.

The contents of the ten dollar food remittance package (in Russia it was called "Pacilka") were as follows: 49 pounds of white flour, 25 pounds of rice, 15 pounds of sugar, 10 pounds of bulk lard or an equal amount of bacon, 3 pounds of tea, and 20 tins of condensed milk.

A similar arrangement was made for the clothing remittances. The agreement read virtually the same and one-fourth of the purchase price was taken for general clothing supply and distribution.

The package to be delivered to the beneficiary for each \$20 clothing remittance contained approximately the following material:

1. Four and two-thirds yards of all wool cloth in dark colors, sufficient to make one outfit for either man or woman, or for outer garments for two children.
2. Four yards of lining for the above.
3. Sixteen yards of muslin, sufficient for four suits of underwear.
4. Eight yards of flannelette, sufficient for either two men's shirts or two women's shirt-waists.
5. Buttons and thread sufficient to make up the above articles.

The A. R. A. reserved the right to make variations in the contents of both classes of remittances, to which the purchaser had to submit, for he was not permitted to vary the content.⁴

A multitude of people with starvation staring them in the face, having used every imaginable means of securing food and raiment with but slight success, received the unexpected good news that there was within their reach the means of obtaining food and clothing from the land of plenty across the seas. Now the sages of the villages, as well as old records, were consulted most diligently to learn the whereabouts of someone who might be appealed to for help. For the sake of convenience, the A. R. A. had provided a card which presented the desire of the sender in both Russian and English, and also provided space to fill in names and addresses.

These cards after having been filled out were forwarded by special courier to the border of Russia, from which they were mailed in the usual way to their destination, provided the addresses were complete.

A very trying period for the petitioners was the time between the sending of these applications and the arrival of the first packages, which in most of the earlier cases took between two and three months. Hope and despair as to whether there would be any returns from these efforts

often played hide-and-seek in the minds of the famine-stricken people. After the middle of June and during July and August, the precious "Pacilkas" came in large numbers.

To deliver these to the proper person now became a far greater problem than the finding of the friend in America, because of demoralized traffic conditions in Russia.

As soon as the packages began to arrive in larger numbers, provisions were made to secure and distribute them economically and efficiently. Instead of each one traveling a great distance to the large city where the A. R. A. made delivery, special escorts were engaged, who received an official authorization from the community and also one from the individual who had received notice that there was a "Pacilka" for him. Eventually the packages were brought in carload lots to the A. M. R. (American Mennonite Relief) centers, from where they were then distributed to individuals. It was sometimes quite difficult to get the "Pacilka" to the right person because of the many similar names and the incomplete addresses.

Human weaknesses were sometimes evident among the recipients of such an excellent quantity of food. Hunger and privation had so undermined their self-control that occasionally too much rich food was eaten after a long period of underfeeding, as was illustrated in the village of K———. A loving father one evening brought home one of these coveted packages to his family with the remark, "Children, we have starved long enough. Now we have supplies, and now let us eat." They did eat and enjoy, and the next morning the father was dead. The rich food had been more than his famished constitution could endure.

It has been established to the general satisfaction of most relief workers, that the public kitchen feeding plan was the most efficient method of distributing food where general famine conditions prevailed, and we concede the first place to that form of relief for Russia, because of its economy and fairness in the distribution of rations, and because all the food remained under the direct control of the committee until received by the specific individual for whom it was provided. The food-draft system gave a larger amount of food into the control of the individual at one time, who might or might not use it advantageously. Further, there was the possibility that a select number of individuals might receive the food while others just as needy, or even more so, might be overlooked. Nevertheless, as a supplement to child-feeding this method proved advantageous because it enabled one to help individuals who were not within reach of the public kitchens.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The food and clothing draft system earmarked the contributions for the use of individual recipients. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such a method: (a) from the point of view of the agency that renders services; (b) from the point of view of the needy population; (c) with regard to overhead costs.
2. Discuss the significance of the type of fund raising based on the draft system.
3. Do you consider it satisfactory to have a foreign service agency distribute printed application cards to the population at large so that more people can apply for individual gifts abroad?
4. It is quite likely that some system of food and clothing drafts will again be developed. Plan several standard packages representing an approximate value of ten dollars and twenty-five dollars each, which would be useful to recipients in different countries, especially in devastated areas. It must be assumed that the sender of the packages would not have any information about the composition of each individual family or of the supplies which might be available in the country.

10. A Gift for Two Small Towns; Czechoslovakia, 1921*

On Saturday the 6th of December I left Vienna with a truck of clothing, cocoa, and milk. My immediate destination was Prague, where the two consignments were to be separated and convoyed in turn to Karlsbad, the centre of the Erzgebirge district, and to Reichenberg. I traveled as escort as far as Gmund on the Czech frontier, where the train arrived early on Sunday morning. Here I watched the truck all day, and then at last let it go off without me, being misinformed by the information office of the times of the trains. The next day, Monday, therefore, I spent in chasing it nearly to Prague and then, finding it not, in going nearly back to the frontier. Eventually I discovered that the truck was already in Prague and followed on there, finding it safe on Tuesday morning, and seeing it unloaded into the customs warehouse.

As soon as possible I got into touch with Mr. Cooke Smith of the League of Red Cross Societies,¹ who had been of great assistance to H. F. We had made arrangements to store the Reichenberg goods while I went away to Karlsbad, but I soon found that it would save a good deal of expense and time and be quite as safe to leave them in the customs warehouse. I also began to discover that it would not be all plain sailing in Prague. On Wednesday I applied to two different departments of the Ministry of Finance for a duty-free certificate, which by law can only be granted for Red Cross articles.² Each department sent me on to another, and since they only open for three hours or so in the morning and are very scattered, things did not move very quickly. I had invaluable help in this chase both on Wednesday and Friday, from one of Schenker's (a large transportation firm in central Europe) employees, who devoted a great deal of his own time to me. On my return from Karlsbad I made him a small present.³

I soon found that without a certificate from the Czech Red Cross I could do nothing, so on Wednesday I tried to see Miss Masaryk, its president, and made an appointment for Thursday, when Mr. Cooke Smith accompanied and introduced me. We found her very suspicious of underhand dealings such as the selling of gifts after they had been distributed and also of their being used for political purposes against the Government by the German Committee. As a matter of fact the Committee had co-opted a local Czech, though the Czech population is very small, for the express purpose of disarming such suspicion.⁴

Eventually however Miss Masaryk gave us a letter to the Finance Ministry guaranteeing the Red Cross nature of the gifts and asking for a duty-free certificate, on condition that Mr. Cooke Smith and I should,

*Adapted from an unpublished report of a field worker to the Emergency and War Victim's Relief Committee of the Society of Friends (London, England), 1922. By permission of Roger Wilson, Executive Secretary of Friends Relief Service.

as she put it, stand on one leg in Karlsbad while the distribution was in progress. Even this was not enough, and on Friday on applying with the letter, the official to whom it was addressed sent me to the Ministry of Social Welfare who also gave me a letter and sent me along back to the Finance Ministry.⁵ Eventually I got the certificate.

Everything was then ready to leave but owing to delays on the part of the transit company the truck did not go until Tuesday night. I had agreed to take a small quantity of soap and fat from a German club in Prague and hand it over with our own goods to the Karlsbad Committee⁶, and before the fat could be allowed out of the city of Prague another export license had to be obtained. We could not get a whole truck and when the train left they refused to allow me to travel with it, though up to the last minute they were convinced after an argument that it would be all right. So I traveled up by express the next morning and arrived first of course.

On the following afternoon, Thursday, the truck arrived, and on Friday I saw the goods finally handed over and stored in the Committee's warehouse, where the bales were to be opened and sorted. Two pounds of cocoa were missing.

It was understood that I was to make a few trips into the mountains to see the conditions in the villages, especially those which H. F. had not visited, and to be present at some of the final distribution if possible. Director Gutherz had told me that Mr. Reifenstuhl, one of the Committee whom I had met in Prague, was returning to Karlsbad and would accompany me. However, Director Gutherz went away on Saturday without making any definite arrangements and without leaving me in touch with any other member of the Committee. On Monday, being rather impatient with the approach of Christmas and the railway holiday, I found out the Chairman by enquiring at the Town Hall.⁷ He was much more cordial and he told me that Mr. Reifenstuhl was not likely to come to Karlsbad, and found out by telephone that he was then at home at Graslitz. The next day I had an invitation from him to spend Christmas with his family. This of course I was only too pleased to do though I felt some compunction at the thought of eating rations for so long. But I hoped that after Christmas Day itself we should make at least one excursion from Graslitz when I should be able to provide for him in return.⁸ However this turned out to be impossible. The weather turned from a thaw to a frost and back again every few hours and snow fell all the time, so that all that I was able to do was to visit the Graslitz hospital for which five cases of cocoa were destined, and to deliver our message of goodwill in advance.⁹ The doctor was very grateful for the help, which was really badly needed. There were several very bad cases of underfed children with rickets and tuberculosis, and all the patients both children and adults were considerably undernourished.

Our cocoa, together with other goods from Karlsbad, actually ar-

rived in Graslitz that morning (Saturday) but they decided about three hours after it came that it was then too late to unload before midday and the afternoon was a holiday, so it must wait till Monday. On Sunday by the first train that ran I returned to Prague, having decided that to wait any longer on the chance of seeing any more distribution would be useless.

On Tuesday morning, the remaining left for Reichenberg, without any further difficulty, though not with the despatch that I hoped. This time I did not attempt to accompany the truck, our stuff being again only part of the load. I reached Reichenberg on Wednesday midday and found that the American Food Mission to whom my instructions were to be addressed had no representative nearer than Prague. The Post Office had no wire for that address nor did any come.

Left therefore to my own resources, I consulted the burgomeister. There are in Reichenberg a general hospital (including a maternity ward) with 450 patients, a children's center with 45 day children and boarders (all healthy), and a fairly large home for cripples with a small proportion of children. The burgomeister is eye specialist at the hospital and showed me around personally on Thursday and I also visited the two homes with a young English-speaking journalist who had been interned in England during the war. He was exceedingly good and gave up almost the whole of New Year's holiday and most of his spare time next day, to make things easier for me.

The condition of the hospital seemed relatively good, far better than in Graslitz or here in Vienna, and they admitted that they were fortunate comparatively. There were not many cases of rickets and though most of the children were undersized, none of them showed such obvious signs of malnutrition as I have seen elsewhere.¹⁰ In the cripple home the children received one-fourth litre of milk a day, but in the child center, which seemed the worst off, they never had more than one tenth litre and sometimes less.

I therefore arranged to hand over the gifts to the town and the burgomeister would have the clothes sorted and allotted to the different institutions for which they were most suited. I suggested and they agreed to a meeting of representatives of the three, to decide this.¹¹ I recommended roughly the proportions in which the milk and the cocoa should be divided, asking them to take into account the rations of the hospital as well which I had the time to find out. They agreed to all this and also to send a report of the exact details of distribution when it was completed.¹²

The burgomeister gave me a letter of thanks as soon as I told him of my mission, and was altogether extremely grateful and friendly. The vice-burgomeister invited me to his (or rather the municipal) box for the New Year Pantomime, and concerned himself generally to make my stay enjoyable.

The last thing on the evening before I left was to bring the goods from the station to the storeroom in the hospital where they were to be sorted, and to open and count the milk there. We found thirty-five tins missing out of a total of 1920 tins, eight cases being broken into; two pounds of cocoa were again missing.

I returned to Prague on Saturday morning and left again at 4 p. m. for Vienna, January 2, 1922.¹³

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the League of Red Cross Societies? What is the difference between its functions and those of the International Red Cross, a national Red Cross society (e. g. the American National Red Cross), and a Junior Red Cross? See accounts of agencies in the Appendix.

2. Explain the basis of granting exemptions from customs duties to certain shipments, here called "Red Cross articles." Is only the Red Cross entitled to such exemptions?

3. What resources can be used by the relief worker in finding an acceptable and reliable guide during a period of difficult and responsible negotiations? What should be the worker's relationship with the guide?

4. Is the suspicion of Miss Masaryk well-founded? How can charitable gifts be used for political purposes (for instance, by minority groups)? How can a foreign service agency protect itself against such an abuse?

5. What is the function of a national ministry of public welfare in relation to the activities of different foreign service organizations operating in its national territory?

6. Is it wise to accept a contribution of a local group to be administered jointly with the distribution of the foreign relief commodities? Why may the German Club not have decided to send its goods directly?

7. The worker arrived early Thursday morning but waited until Monday morning before inquiring for the chairman of the committee. What preparatory steps might he have taken in order to avoid delay?

8. In a country where essential foodstuffs are rationed, a guest who is not able to transfer his own rations to the family in whose home he is a guest for some time, is likely to become a serious liability. Is the worker justified in compensating his hosts with a small quantity of the relief foods of which he is in charge?

9. Why should relief food be sent directly to a community hospital instead of to children in their own homes? Is the distribution of five cases of cocoa of significant benefit in improving the food standards of the institution? Discuss the possible consequences which might result from such a gift.

10. On a brief inspection trip to a hospital, what details should a worker try to observe in order to get a true picture of conditions?

11. Will a joint meeting of the representatives of the three institutions in the community adequately safeguard the distribution and protect its fairness? Explore their possible relationship to the burgomeister and to each other. How could this scheme be improved?

12. Does the requested report strengthen the distribution scheme? Should the burgomeister be given a form to be turned in as part of his report? How could informal reports of local groups be used? Explore the need for detailed accounting of foreign gifts.

13. Evaluate the results of the trip in terms of the time and effort involved.

Wholesale Provisioning

11. Reprovisioning Villages; Yugoslavia, 1919*

Since coming out to Servia in March I have been engaged for the most part in relief work undertaken by General Fortescue of the Serbian Joint Supply Commission.

The first work I was asked to do was to take a quantity of food and medical supplies to the Sandjak of Novi Pazar. This part of the country had not been reached by any relief missions, and the need was known¹ to be great. The American Red Cross arranged to co-operate and supplement what supplies General Fortescue was sending. They added a good deal of medical supplies² and sent along two men, one of whom was a doctor. The total consignment came to thirteen railway wagon loads. The journey was difficult and slow. The supplies had to be sent from Belgrade by barge as far as the junction at Brod; here they had to be trans-shipped for the journey via Sarajevo to the Sandjak. The railway terminus was some twenty-five miles from the center of our distributing scheme; transport was by pony-back.

The scheme of distribution was arranged under our control in co-operation with the prefect.³ The whole department is divided into smaller areas; to each of these we allotted supplies in proportion to the population, as one area was as poor as the other. The local committee⁴ in each section (already in existence to deal with revictualing) was used after we had strengthened it by the addition of a number of women.⁵ Most of the goods were given away. We dealt with certain categories of people in rotation such as widows with children, disabled men, etc.⁶ In the last resort we arranged for the local authorities to sell a quantity of cloth and boot leather at fixed prices, and in limited quantities to one person.⁷ We were able to help in the equipping and provisioning of an orphanage which had been started by local initiative.

In the middle of June I was asked by General Fortescue to make certain inquiries in Montenegro. This involved a visit to Cettinje. I consulted the Servian authorities as to the needs, also the representatives of the American Red Cross. I also saw the British Minister. The action to be taken as a result of the inquiries was canceled, owing to the stopping of an expected relief ship.

I was then asked to proceed to Salonica and purchase from the Disposals Board supplies for Serbian reconstruction up to 15,000 lbs. This involved getting in touch with the Serbian authorities. I arranged for a

*Adapted from an unpublished report of a field worker to the Emergency and War Victims' Relief Committee of the Society of Friends (London, England), 1920. By permission of Roger Wilson, Executive Secretary of Friends Relief Service.

number of municipal engineers to help select the supplies. We ordered and forwarded building material, engineering supplies, etc. to Monastir, Skoplje, Nish, Belgrade, and a large quantity of agricultural tools to the Serbian Agricultural Co-operative Society. Most of these supplies were used for communal purposes such as the repair of schools, the re-establishing of the electric light service, the supply of belting to factories, etc.⁸

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Assume that this is a disorganized territory with a widely scattered rural population. How would you obtain the necessary information for the proper handling of relief needs with the least waste of time?
2. Would the distribution of medical supplies in large quantities follow the same plan as the distribution of food stuffs or of clothing? If not, what are the main differences? Who are legitimate recipients of medical supplies, distributed in bulk?
3. Would you approve of co-operation with a prefect or other government official in charge of a number of local units? Is he likely to have sufficient information and competence in order to be useful? When may it be inadvisable to work with such an official?
4. Is it desirable to co-operate with an established civic committee which has previously had responsibility for some related function, or would you rather develop a new committee to co-operate with your service? If you should desire to use an existent committee, how can you evaluate its strength and status within the community? Do you approve of the worker's accomplishment of "strengthening the committee by the addition of a number of women" as stated in the record?
5. How does the status of women in a given culture affect their potential contribution to a community service? How can we discover and understand their status within the culture in which our service operates? Does the class to which the woman belongs affect her potential usefulness in a community service?
6. Evaluate the worker's method of selecting beneficiaries and of supplying them in rotation.
7. What is your opinion of the sale of imported commodities at controlled prices? What basic principles in relation to cost should be used in the distribution of goods to beneficiaries? When is it desirable to distribute goods: (a) free, (b) for a nominal charge, (c) below cost but at a price related to cost, (d) at cost, (e) at a profit? All of these methods have actually been used in foreign relief operations.
8. Discuss the implications of helping co-*opératives*, social agencies, or local public authorities to obtain supplies for the rehabilitation of utilities, factories, and service centers. If you had a free choice between concentrating on direct service to individuals or service to communities and productive associations, which would you prefer? With an equal investment of funds and manpower (i. e., foreign service workers), what would be the relative yield of these two approaches?

12. Supplies and Services for Agricultural Reconstruction; Russia, 1922-1923*

"Feed the hungry and clothe the naked" was the slogan of the American Mennonites when they ventured upon relief work in Russia, but farsighted people, who thought for the future as well as the present, soon began to realize that to keep the people alive for the time being was only one phase of our obligations, the other being to help them become self-supporting as soon as possible. Sound reasoning taught that the cheapest food that we could get to them would be the food we helped them raise for themselves; and the cheapest clothing that we could furnish them would be that which they wove and spun with their own hands from their own sheep; or what they could obtain in exchange for things they produced themselves. With these things in mind reconstruction work was undertaken along the following lines: the shipment and distribution of tractors, the purchase and resale on credit of horses and sheep, the supplying of seed grain, and the encouragement of home industries.

The Russian Mennonites were almost entirely dependent upon agriculture, and agriculture was in a deplorable state. Only a small part of the land was being cultivated, and that insufficiently, because of a lack of horses. The great war had taken many of the best of these, the revolutions had reduced the number still more, and the lack of feed during the famine claimed a large part of those that remained. If the few horses that remained in the spring of 1922 had been well-fed, much could still have been accomplished, but the drought of the previous year had affected all vegetation and the horses could do only about one-third the normal amount of work. Many people had no livestock at all. In despair they dug the soil with spades and shovels in order to plant some grain.

Something had to be done to avoid recurrence of existing conditions and this help had to come from abroad, for the people were too far down to rise again without outside help. There were various opinions as to what method would be most advantageous. Some advised buying horses, others suggested buying tractors and plows, and several other plans were advocated. Finally it was decided to send twenty-five tractors to Russia.

When the news of the decision reached our representatives in Russia they arranged to meet in Moscow in order to work out and present to the Soviet authorities plans of operation such as would safeguard our interests and enable us to give as much help as possible to the needy people

*Adapted from P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller, *Feeding the Hungry; Russia Famine; 1919-1925* (Scottsdale, Penna., Mennonite Central Committee, 1929), pp. 293-310. By permission of P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller.

of Russia. After careful consideration an agreement was worked out and finally accepted by the Soviet authorities.¹

The tractor outfits in the first shipment were received and unloaded at Odessa during the last days of August and transported to Alexandrowsk, our headquarters in South Russia, as promptly as possible. The number of horses, the strategic location of the Chortitza and Halbstadt volosts from the angle of transportation, and the possibility of arranging a workable plan served as a basis for the decision to begin work at those two places. By September 23 all the outfits were at work.

A shortage of American personnel, difficulty in training native chauffeurs to handle American machinery, new machines which required careful working in, lack of automobiles to get about, rainy weather, heavy land, much of which had not been worked from four to five seasons, fuel difficulties, all these militated against us in the undertaking. "But whenever it was possible to plow—we plowed."

On December 1 the season closed. Notwithstanding all the hindrances and difficulties we had plowed over 4300 acres and seeded 762 acres. The Russian reaction was quick and enthusiastic. The Soviet officials were ready to put large tracts of land at the disposal of the A. M. R. for the purpose of producing grain for distribution in famine districts, instead of relying on importation as had been done the previous year. Our workers accepted this reasonable plan and plowed and sowed rye in both the Ukrainian districts where the tractors had been operating the first fall.²

Reports of the work by local newspapers, by committees of the Russians, by the American Relief Administration, and by the Soviet Government, indicate clearly that the work of the tractors was generally considered a success. A second shipment of twenty-five tractors was therefore arranged and left New York December 23, 1922.

During the first season of the tractor plowing the Soviet government supplied the gas and oil, and also the seed grain, while the A. M. R. furnished these, in addition to what it had done before, without cost to the farmer. For the fall of 1923 it was decided that the farmers themselves who enjoyed the benefits of the plowing, should share in the expense. After September 1, 1924, the farmer was asked to pay for the previous year's cost of the fuel and oil and of sharpening the plowshares. By this arrangement the farmer had one year's credit, and paid from 33 to 50 cents an acre, while the A. M. R. bore the cost of about 70 cents an acre. Under these terms they plowed about 9100 acres for the farmers, in the fall of 1923.

In the spring of 1924 four tractors were set to work under special terms as an experiment to test the real practicability of tractors under Russian conditions, and at the same time to enable the A. M. R. to assist more farmers with the same capital. Under this plan the farmers were expected to pay all the expenses, so that the A. M. R. bore only the de-

preciation on the tractors. The price of fuel and oil was relatively low; and as a result this method found favor with the farmers, since the expense was not heavy and the plowing was done much better than that done with their poor horses. During the months of April, May, and June, 1076 acres were plowed under these terms. By that time the demand for plowing was so great that all the tractors were put to work under these terms from the 19th of June.

But this popularity could not last. Difficulties and troubles came in, one of which was the charge that in this way the A. M. R. assisted those villagers who were well-to-do, and able to pay, whereas it had always been the policy of the relief workers to give preference to those who were most in need. This was not ideal and could be remedied in part, but the fatal objection that arose against this method was the soaring of the price of fuel and lubricants to such figures that plowing under these conditions was decidedly unprofitable. As a result the tractors all ceased plowing in July.³

The final generally accepted conclusion is that while mistakes were made, the tractors brought much encouragement to the people, and provided the means for raising a large amount of food for the coming year, which greatly helped to keep the people from starving. This assistance was largely accomplished through the preparation of thousands of acres of land for seeding for individuals, institutions, and villages. This was supplemented by the grain that was raised by the A. M. R. and used for general feeding and distribution among the needy.

It was clear from the beginning that if the tractor undertaking were to be a success, it would be necessary to find a suitable means of disposing the outfits to the people themselves. This led to various plans of disposal and eventual sale. But all the plans considered encountered two chief difficulties: one was the lack of capital to make the purchase, and the other was the unsettled attitude of the government toward the reconstruction program. Sales were all completed by the time the A. M. R. representatives left Russia. An example of the method of sale was the arrangement with the Alexanderthaler co-operative to purchase fourteen tractors. For each tractor the A. M. R. was to receive grain to the value of \$560, which in turn was to be used exclusively for relief work. Payment was to be on a three-year basis and the co-operative was to agree to plow for the poorer farmers, especially those that had no horses.⁴

Another form of reconstruction consisted in several attempts to supply the farmers with horses. Representatives were sent to certain districts of Volynia, where horses were plentiful and could be purchased at a low figure. Horses were purchased and brought to the villages where they were sold at cost plus the price of transportation. Uniform prices were established and prospective buyers were selected by lot at a large gathering of the farmers of the villages in the volost.

The money thus received from the farmers was to be used to buy more horses, thus becoming a revolving fund. This plan would have worked out quite well had it not been for the fact that it became necessary to give the farmers from ten days to six months time on their payments for the horses. As it was, the fund was soon tied up and the work halted.

Another agreement was arranged for the Orenburg and New Samara colonies. This provided for the purchase of seed grain for the Slawgoroder and Pavlodner districts of Siberia, and the acceptance as part payment therefor, immediately after seeding time, of 125 horses in condition for farm work in the South Russian colonies. By this plan the same capital served to secure horses for the South Russian farmers and seed grain for the Siberian farmers.

This all looked very good. It was decided to drive the horses across the country. But before the drivers reached their destination they said that the trip was too much for the horses, and sent them by rail the rest of the way. This raised the cost of the horses above their real value, so that some of them had to be auctioned off at a loss. Another great annoyance in this as in all commercial ventures of this kind, was the fluctuation of money values from day to day. Aside from these difficulties our workers reported that the horse supplying plan was one of the most successful forms of reconstruction work.⁵

Another form of relief work consisted in the investment of funds in sheep, which were sold to the villagers on credit, in order that they might obtain wool to spin and weave into clothing. After considerable reflection and discussion we arrived at our spinning and weaving plan, which was brought to the attention of the people by announcing throughout the villages that the A. M. R. would provide for every needy person an opportunity to get clothing. The plan was this: we would furnish the wool and all who received food from the A. M. R. would be required to do a certain portion of the work connected with the weaving industry, either to wash the wool, spin the threads, or weave the cloth. The cloth was the property of the A. M. R. and distribution was made according to the needs in the villages, which included generally those who did the work. By the end of the year the greater number of the villages had taken up the plan and were busy spinning and weaving, thereby securing for themselves the necessary food and at the same time producing clothing for the population.

This may appear as though we were resorting back to primitive methods and ancient modes of living, and it was. But where civilization, including all accumulated wealth and means of exchange of products has been ruthlessly destroyed, the desire to live prompts people to resort to any way or means of supplying the necessities of life.⁶

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF IN ACTION

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In what respects must the relief agency safeguard its interests prior to beginning operations? In the preparation of an agreement with the government of a needy country what items should be introduced into the discussion by an assisting organization?
2. The objective of the service was to arrive at a self-supporting agricultural economy. Discuss the various steps taken and their implications for the farmers. Was there any danger of pauperization?
3. What considerations may have led the relief agency to begin the special experiment with tractors only after two years of work? For what type of agriculture is the tractor particularly suited? Could the difficulties which resulted in abandoning the plan have been anticipated?
4. What other methods could have been used for "disposing the outfits" in order that the greatest utility might have been obtained from them?
5. What are the practical difficulties which must be considered in supplying horses or other live stock to farmers?
6. The project shows an effort to speed up agricultural production by bringing in a variety of essential supplies on favorable terms. Under what conditions would such a plan be recommended in preference to direct service to needy individuals? What different methods of rebuilding production can you suggest? On what local conditions—distribution of ownership, size of holdings, prevailing crops—will the application of each suggested method depend?

13. Provisioning a Famine Area; Russia, 1922*

Because of the distance from terminal points and the difficulties of railway transportation, the Kazan District did not receive its first shipment of corn for adult feeding until practically all other American Relief Administration districts had received sufficient stocks to enable them to reach approximately full feeding figures. Those long, depressing days from February, when it was announced that corn had arrived within Russia, to April 2nd when the first corn actually reached Kazan will never be forgotten by the men attached to this district, especially those field men who by personal observation were familiar with the desperate need of a slowly dying people.¹

Those were days filled with difficult explanations to cantonal committees, government officials, or representatives of local peasant groups. Every effort was made to obtain daily information regarding the state of the roads in each canton, and full arrangements were made to load barges, still frozen in the ice, at the winter harbor in case sleigh transport should not prove feasible.²

On Saturday, April 1st, trains were announced as approaching Shikrany, 120 versts from Kazan, from both the south and west. Immediately upon receipt of this information a number of the cantonal committees were interviewed by direct telegraph wire to ascertain last moment information on the state of the roads and the possibilities of transport. Everywhere the roads were found to be thawing rapidly, and it became obvious that the chance of making deliveries had been reduced to the lowest minimum. From the cantons interviewed, Spassk and Elabuga were selected: the first, because it had perfected its plans for a quick mobilization of horses and because of its desperate needs; the second because of its accessibility to the only railroad of the Republic.

From the first train (a shipment from Odessa) which arrived in Kazan the 2nd of April, consisting of 37 cars, 26 were immediately despatched with a special engine and in care of A. R. A. agents, to Viatsky Poliany, where the Elabuga cantonal committee had promised to take receipt and to make delivery with all possible speed direct to the volosts. This train arrived at its destination on the 5th, and 1750 sleighs were there to meet it and convey its precious contents to their destinations exactly as the committee had promised. No hitch of any kind occurred, and within six days after its arrival in Kazan, corn was being distributed to the starving inhabitants of villages 250 versts in the interior of the Tartar Republic. The excellent work of the Elabuga committee at that time is particularly commendable in view of the fact that only four cars

*Adapted from "A Year's Work in Kazan," *American Relief Administration Bulletin*, Series 2, No. 32 (January, 1923), pp. 33-39.

of the total twenty-six contained sacked grain.³ The canton received at this time a full month's allotment, or 35,000 rations (26,250 poods).

With Spassk the fulfillment of carefully laid plans was not so fortunate. Continued warm weather at that time filled the ravines with water and made crossing the Kama a very precarious undertaking. The committee chairman had given assurance that he would send the whole number of 3250 sleighs necessary to transport the allotment of 65,000 rations, but wired later that it would be out of the question to do so owing to the condition of the roads. In all it was possible to deliver only 1500 poods to Spassk at that time, and this was accomplished only after the loss of four men who perished with their horses during the dangerous crossing of the Kama.

The balance of the rations which had been reserved for Spassk was diverted without the loss of a day's time to the canton of Laishev, directly to the south of Kazan. Horses were sent with all possible speed and even after the roads became impassable for sleighs, peasant groups continued to arrive, an entire village at a time, both men and women, eager to bear the precious foodstuffs away on their shoulders. More than six thousand persons went away thus laden, and the entire cantonal allotment of 62,000 rations (46,500 poods) was distributed within the course of ten days' time.

In summarizing the work of the first ten days after the arrival of the corn at Kazan, it was found that in spite of the severest handicaps in the form of impassable roads, an utter lack of proper railway facilities, the necessity of sacking much of the grain, and most primitive methods of handling at the unloading platforms, it had nevertheless been possible to effect a distribution of 145,795 rations (109,346 poods) direct to the most desperately needy portions of the entire population of three of the cantons and to parts of two others. For its accomplishment 7300 men and horses and sleighs were necessary, exclusive of the more than 12,000 persons who carried corn home on their backs. It could not have been done without the most careful preliminary preparation, nor without the most strenuous efforts of every member of the American personnel and the fullest co-operation of A. R. A. committees, cantonal, volost and village. All of them showed the greatest willingness to carry out fully the instructions given by the Kazan headquarters, and did so with promptitude and intelligence. Within three weeks after the river navigation opened, distribution figures showed an increase of from 165,205 to 503,837 rations.

No one who was permitted to watch the first distribution of corn in a village of the famine area is likely to forget the sight. No need to assemble the people—all the inhabitants who are not too weak to walk have already gathered at the storehouse. The more foresighted have provided themselves with sacks. The committee is busy at the scales, and the yellow corn, an unfamiliar sight to most of those assembled, is heaped into a bin before the fascinated eyes of this hungry crowd. There is much

excitement and rapid talk on the part of many but those in most obvious need stand in absolute silence.

The corn having been weighed, the secretary seats himself at the door of the storehouse, a list before him. A name is called and an old woman slowly pushes her way through the crowd. Her costume and her swarthy wrinkled face plainly show she is a Tartar. Around her neck still hang twenty or more silver fifty-kopeck pieces, evidence of a former prosperity. The two silver roubles hanging from the two braids down her back indicate that she has been married. The American field man through his interpreter learns that her name is Fatma Habeullin; that her husband died from hunger last December; that she has had six children, the oldest of whom, a son in the Red Army, has not been heard from for two years; that the second, a daughter, died of typhus in 1920; that of the four small children remaining, two are being fed in the A. R. A. kitchens of the village; and that she is not old, only forty-six. He learns too that she has lived on surrogates (substitutes) since last September, lebeda and acorn flour until February, and now for six weeks past on tree bark and straw from the roof of her cottage. She enters the storehouse where her sack is filled with its eleven funts, a funt for each day from now until the end of the month, when a new distribution will be made; she makes a mark beside her name on the secretary's list; willing hands help her to swing the sack on her shoulders, and though burdened she goes away with a firmer step than she arrived. Hope has already given her added strength. And so on for four or five hours until the distribution is completed.

General circulation was given to the instructions for the preparation of the corn.⁴ Cantonal committees were advised not to burden themselves with arranging for grinding, but in the larger villages and towns many of the recipients themselves formed groups and made an agreement with the miller. In the vast majority of cases, however, the corn was put into the hollow log mortar which stands behind almost every peasant's cottage and was pounded into meal. The bread produced, except when for economy's sake a large proportion of some surrogate was added, proved to be not only satisfactory but very appetizing.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. (Periods of involuntary inactivity as far as a particular service is concerned are a common experience of relief workers. What use would you make of the time available in a situation like that described in the record?

2. Can you suggest any kind of preparation not mentioned in the report which would strengthen the service?

3. Much of the excellent work accomplished was a result of the efforts of the local committee. What does the procedure applied in Elabuga suggest with regard to the organization of provisioning in general? If you wished to form a local committee to work on provisioning, from what groups or individuals would you draw?

4. What reasons may have led to the issuing of general instructions for the preparation of the corn? Why was corn rather than a cereal better known to Europeans sent to Russia?

14. Clothing for 150 Villages; Russia, 1922-1923*

On November 1, 1922, a message reached the headquarters of the A. M. R. (American Mennonite Relief) at Alexandrowsk that a large shipment of clothing had arrived at Odessa.^{1,2} The clothing was loaded into nine cars, sealed, locked, and convoyed to the Alexandrowsk headquarters November 29, where it was put into the warehouse with about three cars still remaining from former shipments.³ How a sack of stones and a piece of iron rail got into an officially sealed car with the seal undisturbed will remain a mystery, but the American port chief at Odessa assured me that stealing was no worse there than at other European ports.

To be in a position to distribute the clothing as fairly as possible, the A. M. R. had to answer four questions:

1. What shall be the basic standard?
2. Who are the most needy?
3. What is available for distribution?
4. How shall we allocate and distribute?

While the clothing data were being gathered by the village committees the Alexandrowsk office spent many hours in making plans for a fair distribution of what had been sent. The first question was, "What does a man need?" That was to be the standard.⁴ It was arrived at thus: The man who has two suits of underwear, two pairs of sox, two shirts, a suit of clothes, a pair of shoes or boots, a hat or cap, an overcoat, and a pair of mittens or gloves, has enough so that he normally can keep clean and warm. By giving each article needed by a man an arbitrary value in "units" instead of dollars or rubles, the articles enumerated above amounted to 80 Units. 80 units was thus fixed as the standard for those over fifteen years old. Similarly 60 units for those from five to fifteen; and 40 units for those under five years old.

The unit values in the unit list ran from 1 for three handkerchiefs to 35 for a fur overcoat. The unit list contained no fewer than 114 items, including soap, scissors, combs, knitting needles, shoe-soles, cotton batting, brushes, buttons, needles, etc. The lot method had been employed in some villages in the distribution of a small shipment of clothes made earlier, but caused much complaint, hence the need of a uniform plan. Of course the standard and the unit lists were not made known until after all the lists from the villages were in the A. M. R. office; nor was the plan of distribution divulged, so as not to tempt any one to make false entries.

*Adapted from P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller, *Feeding the Hungry; Russia Famine; 1919-1925* (Scottdale, Penna., Mennonite Central Committee, 1929), pp. 260-271. By permission of P. C. Hiebert and Orie O. Miller.

It was no small task to gather these statistics. We had blanks made up with 45 columns enumerating all kinds of wearing apparel and bedding, from handkerchiefs to fur coats. While clothing was gathered in America the relief workers in Russia through their local committees, numbering possibly 1000 persons, entered something like 70,000 names on these blanks, and the whole wardrobe of each individual by family was entered. Parents or guardians had to sign and vouch for the accuracy of the entries.

We made some mistakes. In gathering the data, for instance, we accepted the well meant suggestion from one settlement with 34 villages to allow each person to check the three articles he needed most. This offered some advantages, but, unfortunately, the people then expected to get those articles. Thus men in those 34 villages had checked and expected to get over 4500 overcoats; but we had only 1545 for about 150 villages. It was evident from this that about six out of every seven men would be disappointed. The same held in other cases. In relief work one learns to avoid raising false hopes.⁵

The village lists were first checked over and village ratings compared by our volost committees and then sent to the Alexandrowsk office, where the items after each name were totaled according to a unit somewhat varied from the unit list of distribution. This was a tedious job. From eight to fifteen persons worked at it for weeks. All names showing a total of more units than was the standard for their respective age were eliminated—they would not be given anything this time. Those showing fewer units than standard were to be given enough to reach their respective standard—if our supply proved sufficient. Thus if a man owned only 50 units he should receive 30 more from us, if we had them. Such “credit units” were then entered in red ink in the last—the “red column”—on the “statistical lists.” By totaling those red figures we knew exactly how many units were due each village, and what the total for each volost and the grand total for all the villages was. With this done our lists were returned to our volost committee for a final re-check, and then to the village committee of origin to note our changes, to check for errors, and to recommend further changes; but lists could not be changed without central office consent. As the personal equation of committees and the interpretation of regulations varies considerably, the volost committees had recommended discounting some and raising other village lists.⁶ We ourselves also had firsthand knowledge of conditions and for months had inspectors busy looking after kitchens and reporting on conditions. I found that the quickest way to form a fair comparison as to conditions in villages was to have the committee take me to the three poorest families or homes in the village.⁷

In distributing clothing our rule was: Give to the most needy. Further, no one was allowed to select clothes for himself. All committee members had to fill out blanks. The Americans then selected the quota

for each member of our volost committees; the volost committees selected for members of the village committees; and these again distributed to the individuals who had credit slips. For all of this, uniform regulations had been worked out.

Yet there were innumerable obstacles and delays. At times it seemed the task could not be carried through. The labor union interfered. Some statistics were wrong. Mails were delayed. Bad weather set in. There was a car shortage. The government too had its difficulties. Even when loaded, cars stood on the tracks for days—because some railroad chief was on a trip, and his assistant refused to sign the waybills. But once the railroad had released the goods to our local committees then the clothes were soon doing service for thousands of appreciative people.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. List some of the considerations which a home committee should weigh prior to dispatching a large clothing shipment: (a) with regard to types of goods to be sent; (b) with regard to emphasis on quantity or quality.
2. What technical steps are required on the part of the provisioning agency in shipping commodities out of this country: (a) normally; (b) under war time conditions? What licenses and papers will be needed for shipment? What is a navicert?
3. What steps are necessary on the receiving side, when expecting large shipments?
4. How satisfactory is the standard unit as defined in the report? Can you mention other ways of measuring clothing needs?
5. Is it necessarily a mistake in method to have the needy person state his major needs with regard to clothing? How can such information be used advantageously in making recommendations on the types of commodities to be sent from abroad?
6. The described method of recording data results in detailed information regarding the quantity of standard units. With this information how would you proceed in selecting clothes to be sent to each village?
7. In planning the allocation of limited quantities of commodities among villages of different economic status detailed information on local conditions is desirable. What advantages and disadvantages does the described method of personal orientation on the part of the relief worker have? What other approach might have been possible?

15. Imports and Rationing; Tunisia, 1943*

The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations announced June 26 that preliminary reports from its North African mission emphasize that the great bulk of its operations in Tunisia is being conducted on a commercial basis rather than on a direct contribution basis.¹

The principal relief task remaining in North Africa today is in Tunisia. In that region the OFRRO mission, working through the North African Economic Board, has brought into action several programs designed to re-establish civilian life and affairs without delay and with economy in expenditures of funds and supplies. First and most important of the measures taken is a chain of "relief stores" providing outlets for relief supplies such as dried milk, sugar, tea, coffee, and cloth or clothing in virtually all the newly liberated Tunisian cities. This system, amounting to an American merchandising system and novel in North African life, makes the *Controleur Civil* in each area responsible for the conduct of the stores and places the actual handling of relief goods in native hands, American personnel confining its activities to supervision.^{2, 3}

A kind of "relief rationing" system was created to go along with the relief stores. Although in such cities as Tunis, Sfax, and Sousse, people were in need of food and clothing, in general they had enough money to care for their needs if supplies were on hand and distribution established on an equitable and non-discriminatory basis. Along with his general responsibility for the conduct of the stores, the *Controleur Civil*, consequently, was requested to issue tickets on a family basis authorizing purchases in the stores. Two kinds of tickets are issued, one for families of three or less and one for families of four or more people. Tunisians appear to like the plan and to appreciate that it makes greater supplies available for people in need of direct relief. Besides Tunis, relief stores are now in operation in Sfax, Sousse, Gabes, and about a dozen smaller localities, such as Mateur, Medjes el Bab, Souk el Kemis, Souk el Arba, Jedeida, and Massicault.

Some direct or "gift" relief has been necessary. In Tunisia, for example, there were some 80,000 displaced persons, many of whom had taken refuge in the city of Tunis. These people came from communities all over northern Tunisia. In the city also were about 15,000 Jewish people who had taken refuge there from the Nazi military control in Bizerte. There were also a large number of European refugees of various nationalities, including Italians, who had come from many points in Tunisia. For each of these groups the OFRRO mission made appropriate arrangements through local leaders and existing social agencies to provide for

*Adapted from "Operations in Tunisia," *The Department of State Bulletin*, VIII (June 26, 1943), 587-589. By permission of Department of State.

urgent needs in food and clothing and for returning the people to their homes or in finding quarters for them with friends or relatives.⁴

Not all relief for these groups is on a direct basis, but milk for the Arab children, totaling 2,000 servings a day at present and gradually increasing, is being provided. Arrangements for this service were made through the Sheik of Medina, official head of the Moslem population for the district of Tunis. All the milk is consumed at the point of distribution and is occasionally supplemented by rice or some other food which is consumed with the milk.⁵

The general program for the free distribution of milk to school children in French Morocco, Algeria, and portions of Tunisia, which has been conducted in co-operation with the American Red Cross, was discontinued by agreement with the French authorities upon the close of the school year at the end of May. During the summer months, a special and limited program in milk distribution will be maintained for children, nursing mothers, and others who are in special need of this type of nourishment. It is estimated that about 80,000 servings per day will be provided during the summer for such purposes in all North Africa.

A feature of relief operations in North Africa is that the need for charitable relief has been much less than expected. Agricultural prospects are good in Tunisia and at least up to normal expectations in Algeria and French Morocco. While "black market" activities and hoarding are continuing to cause inequalities in the distribution of local supplies, it is felt in general that the revival of normal trade will soon eliminate the need of obtaining relief supplies in major proportions from outside sources.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the advantages of conducting operations on a commercial basis rather than on a direct contribution basis? Does the application of this method presuppose certain local conditions? Specify. Compare this method with the relief activities in Belgium during World War I (See record 1).
2. What considerations should be taken into account in selecting the localities for relief stores? Explore the differences between an ordinary retail and a relief store. Could ordinary retail stores or consumers co-operative stores be used?
3. Responsibility for the conduct of the stores rests with the *Controleur Civil*. What are the advantages of a method which gives responsibility to the national group as compared with other methods that might have been applied?
4. How can the services of the private foreign and local relief agencies be enlisted in carrying out the relief rationing system? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such co-operation?
5. About two thousand servings of milk were consumed at the point of distribution. How could the objective—assurance that the children receive the milk—have been reached by some other method of distribution?

B. Providing Shelter—Housing

16. Rebuilding Homes in Devastated Areas; France, Poland, Serbia, 1920-1922*

"Avant la guerre" Neuville was a quiet residence town of about five hundred people. The French folk were tillers of the soil. The forests attracted many hunters and the beautiful Aire supplied the people with a place to fish. A dam in the river also stored water for light power purposes.

When the Germans came in 1914 the people of Neuville suffered the fate common to the French people of the Verdun area. They were ordered to leave and became refugees. The German army is said to have held Neuville only fourteen days. But for a long period it was part of no-man's-land or of the French front-line defenses.

The American army later had an ammunition depot in the town; a railroad was built along the Aire River, and therefore it became an important center.

When the armistice was signed there was not a single habitable house in Neuville. The soldiers lived in dugouts and shacks. Practically all the buildings seemed to be beyond repair. The first reconstruction men came in December. They repaired an old house and lived there while laying plans to rebuild the town.¹ Living conditions were primitive. We used candles, and our quarters were not as good as many a barn in America. Rats were so numerous and food so scarce that it took some effort to keep them from eating our clothes and suitcases. Bread and sugar were rationed; food was not easily obtained. Drinking water was very scarce and had to be boiled.

The only people in town beside the half-score reconstruction men were the demolition men: American soldiers left here to destroy all left-over ammunition as well as captured explosives. Ammunition was brought in by train loads and these men hauled it out to a field about three kilometers from town, where they exploded it by time fuses. The explosions were terrific. We could keep no glass in the windows, and even the cloth which we used as a substitute was blown out several times. After each explosion we generally experienced a hail of steel. Pieces of shells often landed in the town. One day a piece of steel weighing about twelve pounds landed in our front yard. A day or two later while a group of soldiers were exploding the dumps, an accident occurred which made it necessary for four of them to spend a few days at the hospital. After that we were always warned when an explosion was about to occur. Now all the ammunition is destroyed.

*Adapted from reports of field workers of various agencies.

Our work here is to build houses for the returning refugees. The plan is to build sixty-four houses of the various sizes. Most of the houses are of the three room type, but some are of two and five room types.² We now have about forty built. According to present schedule, Neuilly will be built by about June twentieth, and our group of fifteen will probably move to another site of a former village.

The houses come to us in sections which we set up. We make the foundations, lay the floors, set up the walls and roof the houses. French carpenters finish them. Four men generally work at one house.

The average three room house has thirty sections for the walls, eighteen for the roof and eleven for the floors. The frames for the floor and roof are assembled on the ground and in some instances the timber must be framed. The sections are made in Dole and Ornans, France, by reconstruction workers. They are shipped about 300 kilometers on the railroad and then set up according to plans. The parts of the different houses are generally interchangeable, so that any certain type would fit any house of that type.³

The work would probably be monotonous, but before we were here a month a new element entered—the returning refugees. What were they doing for four long years? The men were practically all in the army. The women and children were getting along as best they could, crowded in other towns and cities of France. Some of them had taken considerable property with them when they left; others had barely escaped before the Germans took the towns.

One of the first to return was the mayor and his family. He is an autocratic manager of the village, and planned the schedule upon which the refugees could come back to the new town.⁴ The first family to move into one of the new cottages arrived March 16th. As soon as people returned it became necessary to establish a store. Two English ladies manage a co-operative store installed in part of the ammunition shed left by the army. All goods are sold, but the price is about cost.

It is the aim of the mission to have the people who work in a village visit the French people. We meet the people during the day and often call upon them in the evening. The language problem enters here. It is not difficult to make people of another language understand a few things, but that is another problem than carrying on a philosophical discussion with them. We find it difficult to appreciate their situation and they find it difficult to understand our mission. Some think we are rich and can well afford to be here practically without pay. Others wonder why we do not go home if we are volunteer workers. Often we are asked if we hate the Germans and love the French. To explain all these things is not easy.⁵

At present we are living in a home we built. Four of us are in one room of a three room house. We have a good kerosene lamp and a camp

stove. Food and water are more easily obtained; the whole village is more active.

The German prisoners are still held, and some of them work for us on the houses. Thus far we have found no difficulty. Prisoners of war are not very well fed, so it is the policy of the mission to feed every prisoner who works for the mission at least one meal each day. The prisoners are anxious to work with us and we find it an interesting experience.

About July first we hope to begin reconstructing another town. There are many that need such work, but we are not able to rebuild them all in time for the people to get back to their homes for the spring work on the farms. At present almost a hundred men of the mission in the building department are scattered in about a dozen towns and villages.

As it has not been possible for the government to make advances for the reconstruction of homes and farms, the building co-operatives of our villages and towns have been much embarrassed. The small amount of war indemnities advanced to each co-operative has not been on a big enough scale to encourage the contractor to put up extensive plants and import the amount of foreign labor which the problem requires.⁶

Early this year (1920) the Workshop of the American Committee for Devastated France, which had the distinct advantage of being already in operation, was invited by the Building Co-operative of Blerancourt and by the Cantonal Commission under the government, to undertake the repair of some forty houses in the town. Under duly signed agreement this work was undertaken, for which the government today owes the committee approximately 400,000 francs against which only 27,000 francs have been paid. Obviously this is a bad business proposition, and doubtless the committee will not be fully repaid until 1921, but it has the advantage of fortifying the morale of the people and making it possible to insure proper housing for at least forty families, as well as giving local workmen steady employment.

In view of the great demand for the erecting of communal shower baths, we now propose to use our workmen and the facilities of our workshop for this purpose. The first year after the armistice the government undertook to make emergency repairs consisting of tar paper for roofing and oil paper for windows. These materials were given freely to the people with no charge against the war indemnities. But tar paper and oil paper do not last forever. We are facing the third winter with leaking roofs, broken windows, unrepaired walls and but little coal. After two such years these people are loath to make further temporary repairs for which they must pay from their own indemnities. For certain indigent cases we intend to sell some of our American supplies and apply the proceeds to temporary repairs for this winter.⁷

The J. D. C. (American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee) conceives as essential the rehabilitation of destroyed settlements by means of giving individuals or groups an opportunity to rebuild their homes, destroyed during the war. This the Polish Government has done on a large scale and at great cost. It is felt that all organizations interested in the rehabilitation of the country should assist the government in this work. The Reconstruction Department has therefore organized a separate section for the rehabilitation of destroyed settlements, whose function it is to organize, wherever possible, building co-operatives, to furnish technical advice and assistance in the building of homes, as well as to furnish cheap limited credit to building co-operatives or individuals engaged in rebuilding homes destroyed as a result of the war.⁸

It seems that houses are only being put up for families consisting entirely of women and children. The Serbian men are left to construct their own. Even so, however, the program before our unit in their district is not inconsiderable. In the villages allotted to the Dobride division, for instance, there were eighty-two houses to be built. Two hundred forty-seven houses altogether had been destroyed by the war, and eighty-two families were helpless to reconstruct for themselves. It was estimated that, with the help of the one hundred prisoners there, at least seventy and perhaps all of these could be erected before the severe winter came on. It was planned to repair the schoolhouse for housing any families which were unprovided for when the work stopped.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In laying plans for the rebuilding of a town what services in addition to shelter should be planned at the same time?
2. What building standards may be considered in making plans for the reconstruction of a devastated community?
3. What are some of the advantages and the disadvantages of prefabricated houses: (a) with regard to the labor problem; (b) with regard to transportation?
4. What is the explanation for planning a schedule for the return of the evacuees? Does the schedule necessarily indicate autocratic procedure?
5. Should the workers seek for opportunities of explaining their motivation in rendering service? Is it part of their function to share their attitude of conciliation with the neighbors, or should it be considered a strictly private affair?
6. Can housing co-operatives be organized on a large scale as an effective means of rebuilding devastated areas: (a) in urban communities; (b) in rural communities? What basic conditions must be met to make them effective?
7. How has the rebuilding of devastated areas usually been financed? Is it largely dependent on charitable contributions and volunteer work? Explore the connection between the methods of financing and the need for making costly and ineffective temporary repairs.
8. Develop some plan under which both national associations and foreign relief services can co-operate in rebuilding a devastated area under the leadership of the national government. What are the advantages of such a plan?

17. Housing for Displaced City Dwellers; Italy, 1918*

One of the most novel and certainly the most extensive undertaking of the Red Cross for the care of refugees was the construction of a Venetian village under the walls of old Pisa.¹ Its story is the story of a village that failed, at least in its original purpose, through unforeseen and unavoidable complications.

Venice had been brought within the fighting zone. Her industries were shut down, her shops closed, communication with the outside world was difficult and food exceedingly scarce.

The Venetian authorities had from the beginning been transplanting the civilian population to places of safety in colonies, as far as it was possible to do so. By keeping them together and transplanting with them their industries, conditions of life in a strange land became more tolerable. This plan had been carried out quite extensively along the shores of the Adriatic where there were many empty villas which could be requisitioned for the purpose. And sites for additional colonies for refugees were early sought in Liguria and elsewhere. But old communities have a limited capacity to absorb unbidden guests, and even the most public spirited communities early reached the limit of their capacity.²

In the meantime, the evacuation of Venice continued. Towards the end of February our representative, the American Consul, wrote:

It is not a question as to whether it would be best for these people to move or not. They are going. You cannot keep a population in a town a few miles from the front, where it cannot support itself, and where it is continually bombarded from the skies, and may at any moment be bombarded from land, or sea, or both, and where an enemy offensive would complicate and intensify all of the difficulties. If present conditions continue, more than fifteen thousand people, without visible means of support, will leave Venice within a short time.

It was suggested that the Red Cross should go into a new field of activity which meant nothing more nor less than the construction of a town for a displaced population group.³ It was thought that they could be housed in tents or tarred paper barracks which could have been rapidly set up. The Red Cross agreed to undertake the work. It was found that a plan to use tents or build flimsy temporary shelters was not feasible. Finally it was decided to build more permanent shelters, using a kind of cement brick made in the valley of Pompeii almost adjoining the city that was buried under the ashes of Vesuvius 2,000 years ago, and out of lapillo, a kind of stone erupted by that volcano.

A tract of twenty-five acres was secured, requisitioned by the Italian Government for the purpose, just outside the walls of Pisa. It is pic-

*Adapted from Charles M. Bakewell, *The Story of the Red Cross in Italy* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920), pp. 40-44. By permission of American Red Cross.

turesquely situated with the mountains rising in the near distance on one side, and on the other, the town of Pisa with its roofs showing above the famous Medicean aqueduct built four hundred years ago. The plan was to construct a village here which would accommodate two thousand refugees and could later be expanded if that proved desirable.⁴ It was to be a village of bungalows, eighty in all, sub-divided into apartments of varying sizes, with plenty of garden space for each family. In addition there were to be eleven other buildings for community use, a kitchen, a school, a store, a hospital, a day nursery, a laundry, public lavatories, etc. There was to be a public square and playground. In short, it was to be a model village.⁵

When the contract was signed it was hoped that the work would be completed by the first of August. There were, however, further delays, partly due to causes such as are apt to arise anywhere and any time, partly due to conditions created by the war. The Armistice found the village still uncompleted. It will never be needed for its original purpose, but the Italian government will use it as a home for the retraining of mutilated victims of the war.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Under what circumstances should an agency, primarily engaged in relief work, be prepared to undertake the task of constructing a village?
2. Discuss the physical, economic, and social factors other than that of adequate housing on which the ability of a given community to absorb new population will depend.
3. What precedents are there for town-planning in this country and abroad? What can we learn from earlier and recent development in this field applicable to the rebuilding of devastated areas or the planning of new communities for relocated settlers?
4. Discuss various stages in the development of a city plan. What are the minimum essentials for health, education, and general welfare which should be provided by public utilities or from other community resources?
5. Will the types and number of service centers for community use depend on the equipment of the individual family unit? How many facilities of the kinds listed are needed for a community of 2000 persons where a slight increase in population may be anticipated? How many of these facilities may be planned in a central location? Which should be decentralized and easily accessible in each neighborhood?

18. Housing Construction for Refugee Settlers; Bulgaria and Greece, 1924-1929*

It was originally estimated that 16,000 new houses would have to be erected for the settlement of refugee families. After about two and a half years, only 1831 houses had been built and 2854 more were contracted for. There were several reasons for the slowness of the work.

As a very large number of refugees were settled in villages of the district of Burgas or of other districts, often at the rate of two or three families in each village, no building program of a large scope could be carried out in each locality.¹ Materials had to be transported to every village for these scattered undertakings under very inadequate conditions of transport. Besides, work on a large scale was beyond the capacity of local contractors.² The market for building timber proved limited. In some cases contractors had to obtain supplies from Rumania for work under construction in the extreme south of Bulgaria. The League of Nations Commissioner was justified in deplored the fact that "abundant local resources were not more judiciously exploited."³ Moreover, the building program was necessarily dependent on the allocation of land. Naturally, houses could be built only after lands were granted to refugees to secure their livelihood.

For agricultural holdings a house is insufficient for the needs of a peasant without a shed or a stable for housing cattle and storing crops. The construction of such buildings could be left to be done by the refugees themselves, but it was felt that their construction by the General Directorate would be preferable from the point of view of the preservation of the cattle, of hygienic considerations, and of the general appearance of the new quarters. Refugees asked, generally, for shed and stables in addition to the houses.⁴

The general method of construction was by private contractors on the acceptance of tenders by the General Directorate. To make up for the failure of builders to fulfil their contracts, the experiment of construction on a monopoly basis by the General Directorate was applied on a small scale. In a very few cases the refugees received cash advances and themselves made the necessary arrangements regarding the work and the supply of material.

At the end of the season of 1927, on the basis of contracts concluded until that time, the available cost of a house was about 29,153 leva or \$215. By May, 1929, the increase in the cost of labor and materials raised this cost to 66,000 to 68,000 leva, or about \$500.

*Adapted from Stephen P. Ladas, *The Exchange of Minorities; Bulgaria, Greece, and Turkey* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1932), pp. 606-608, 669. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

As the erection of buildings by the General Directorate progressed slowly, many refugees built their own houses. In the meantime the Mixed Commission on Greco-Bulgarian Emigration made payments to emigrants from Greece, and the latter were able to finance the construction.

When the commission got to work in 1924 it had at its disposal two categories of rural buildings for the settlement of refugees: (a) houses of Moslems and Bulgarians who left or were leaving Greece under the Conventions of Neuilly and Lausanne; and (b) houses built by the Colonization Service of the Greek Government from 1922 to 1924. The commission supplied the further needs by causing thousands of additional rural buildings to be erected, especially in places where new colonies were established. In the beginning the commission followed the system employed by the state, which consisted in advancing to shelterless refugees sums of money to enable them to erect their own houses by supplying their own labor to a large extent. This system gave good results only in Thrace. For the most part the commission adopted the system of building by small local firms of contractors or of employing the refugees established in each village as workmen under the superintendence of the technical services of the commission. Contracts were also made with building societies.⁵

The houses built in the first years by the commission were usually of two rooms and a small hall. They were monotonous both as regards the lay-out of the streets and the type of the house. The refugee whose condition improved after the first years of privations and sufferings was not particularly enraptured with these homes, and after 1928 the commission had to introduce a certain variety and make houses of three rooms instead of two.⁶ The standard price of the two-room houses was £100 or 37,000 drachmas. The larger houses cost 52,000 drachmas. In Thrace, where the refugees built their own houses, not only was their price much below that at which dwellings were built by building companies, but the houses presented a variety, a picturesqueness, and a special individuality.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss the pros and cons of decentralizing the settlement of refugee families in the manner described. Can a village community be expected to accommodate two or three additional families without building new homes?
2. Does it seem desirable to use local contractors despite their limited capacity for handling contracts? Suggest various forms in which their services might have been used without giving them complete responsibility for costs and supplies.
3. The commission (of the League of Nations) criticized the lack of utilization of abundant local resources within the building program. Discuss local circumstances which should enter into the planning of a work program before it is ordered along standard lines. What factors need to be explored in order to arrive at an effective program?

4. On what basis was the construction of essential sheds and stables left to be done by the new settlers themselves? Could their active participation in the building program have been secured in a better way?

5. Compare and evaluate the various methods used within the housing program: (a) employment of private contractors; (b) public service by the general directorate (refugee resettlement corporation); (c) housing loans and grants to individual refugees; (d) local work projects employing refugees as labor; (e) contracts with regional or local non-profit building societies (co-operatives).

6. How could the monotony of the plan and appearance of the houses have been prevented? Can a pleasing and artistically satisfactory result be achieved in a newly built neighborhood without much variation of the basic type of house used? Would widespread use of prefabricated units necessarily lead to the development of communities which suggest regimentation and military barracks?

C. Providing Health Services and Sanitation

19. First Aid to Refugees from Burma; India, 1942*

After our flight from Burma, we went from the railhead at Dinapur by train to Gauhati, Assam, India. The journey of about 150 miles took two and a half days and included a head-on collision in which, luckily, only one was injured. It was an ambulance train filled with evacuated British soldiers whom we tended as best we could on the way.

At Gauhati we installed ourselves in the American Baptist Mission compound and began to look around as to how we could help in the refugee situation. We joined forces with the rest of a medical unit which had flown out from Burma and included fourteen nurses and two doctors, which gave us a total of thirty-three nurses and three doctors. This was somewhat detracted from by the fact that most people were rather under the weather from the trip.

There were still many thousands of Indian refugees arriving at the camps nearer the frontier and being sent down into India by train. Most of them were in a rather bad condition, but having once got on to the train which was to take them to their family homes, they were very loath to get off and come into the hospital.

About five miles down the line from Gauhati there was a ferry across the Brahmaputra where all train passengers had to be taken across the river by boat. This seemed a logical place to send doctors and ambulances to meet them.

We took over two buildings of the American Baptist Mission school and turned them into a hospital, one building to house British troops and the other Indian troops and refugees.¹ At first we had very few refugees, being filled to capacity (about 500) with troops, but the numbers of these gradually dropped off and we were able to take an increasing number of refugees.

The condition of some of these was simply appalling. Without exception they all had dysentery, and most of them had malaria too, but perhaps the most heartbreaking thing was the word that appeared in all their diagnoses, "starvation," and it seemed that all their other ills, like the terrible sores they had, could be traced to this. They were emaciated beyond belief, and it seemed that only will power had kept them going for so long, but sadly enough, having reached the threshold of the Promised Land, many of them seemed to give up the will to live and so our

*Adapted from an unpublished report of the Friends Ambulance Unit to the American Friends Service Committee, 1942. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

death-rate reached alarming proportions, being finally calculated as one in eight of all patients admitted.

Our volunteer section consisted of six men. Eric was laid up for a long period with dysentery and leg sores which refused to heal, and nearly everyone was incapacitated for varying periods by the same sort of thing.² For this reason and for reasons dictated by the needs of the situation there were very few specific jobs we could undertake individually. Nevertheless we did accomplish a certain amount. Bill looked after the hospital's finance, Martin looked after the buying of medical supplies, while Ken cooked the special diets. I rushed around the town buying things for the patients on occasion too. Collectively we helped out on the wards, ran the hospital's transport which consisted of a 1928 Chev tourer christened "Horace," ran the "Mortuary Service" and did a host of other odd jobs.³

As time went on the condition of the refugees on arrival seemed to be worse: they died on the trains and in the ambulances while they were being admitted. Finally, two nurses, Tom, and I made the wearisome trip back up to Dinapur to investigate. We found that this condition was chiefly due to the fact that these later arrivals had been longer on the road, some of them even having been in Japanese hands for some time. There were practically no hospital facilities at Dinapur and so the only thing they could do was to ship them to us without delay, keeping back only cholera, smallpox, and other infectious cases. A Congress Party Medical Unit has just been set up and seemed to be doing quite good work, and they agreed to our suggestion that one of them should accompany each trainload to look after them on the way. We ourselves traveled down with the next load and were able to remedy such faults as lack of food and attention on the way.⁴

After a time the flow of refugees, which had been dwindling for some time, practically ceased and could easily be coped with by the existing facilities in Gauhati. This coincided with orders to move the Unit.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the minimum essentials for an emergency hospital established like this one in some available large building?
2. Many of the relief workers were incapacitated on account of illness, for varying periods of time. What general information and instructions are needed to safeguard the health of relief workers (non-medical personnel) exposed to contagious diseases under conditions described in the record?
3. How did the members of the unit find the areas in which they could be most useful? Do you consider the employment satisfactory under the conditions as described? Under any conditions in a field of foreign service? How much did their usefulness depend on available skills?
4. Outline various ways of rendering service to a large number of sick people in transit, traveling on overcrowded trains. What equipment would be useful in such a situation? What type of skills?

20. Sanitation Service; Poland, 1919*

This is the place to which, last August, the first Polish Unit of the Society of Friends' Relief Mission came. They were a party of about twenty English men and women, and their object was to stay in Zawiercie for three months and try to rid the town of the terrible ravages of typhus.¹

During the two years' occupation by the Germans the epidemic had been kept well down to an average of about twenty fresh cases a month. The Germans installed excellent disinfectant machinery and carried on a very thorough system of delousing. When they left the town the plague increased to an appalling extent, until in March, 1918, 205 fresh cases broke out.

Here in Zawiercie, as in other parts of Poland, the housing conditions are exceedingly bad. In the last two days I have visited about a score of families, and in no case had they more than one small room to live in. Two or three families are quite commonly found living, eating and sleeping in a hovel not much bigger than an ordinary English scullery and far less well ventilated. There is no sanitation whatever in these houses, every drop of water has to be fetched from somewhere down the street, and soap is prohibitively dear.²

It is hard to blame these people for the repulsive state of dirt in which the Friends' Mission found them. They and their children were alive with vermin. Whole families were stricken with typhus and died one after another. Mission workers found seven people dead in one house. Of those who survived, very many will suffer all the rest of their lives. I have seen a little girl whom typhus has left dumb and an incurable lunatic.³

In August the Friends took on the delousing work. They used the plant left behind by the Germans, and this is still in good working order. Their method was to go from house to house, doing on an average about fifteen a day, and thoroughly cleaning each. The whole place was scrubbed and then sprayed with disinfectant. Where the inhabitants were old or delicate, tubs and stove for heating water were taken around too. In other cases the people were brought to the anti-typhus baths of the mission.

These are in low buildings built round three sides of a square; in the open space are big boilers in which the clothes are disinfected by steam. One end of the buildings is the "dirty end," and the other the "clean end." Bathers enter at the "dirty end," and there their hair is cleaned and if necessary cut off. They then undress and their clothes are taken out to the disinfecting machines. In very many cases the garments are too ragged to be worth disinfecting, and a new outfit has to be given. The baths

*Adapted from a report in *Reconstruction*, II, No. 11 (February 15, 1920), 168-170. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

consist of hot water sprays lavishly supplemented with soft soap. Then, in the "clean end," the bathers are given their clothes, a cup of cocoa, and some small gift—a shirt, perhaps, or a petticoat, or a bar of soap—to compensate for the mission's drastic treatment of them and to encourage them to further efforts on their own behalf. It is an interesting fact that the mission has met with practically no opposition to its delousing work, and that several families have since asked to be supplied with bathtubs of their own.

In the three months allotted to the task, the Friends' Relief Mission completely washed the homes and families of Zawiercie. As a result of their operations the average number of fresh typhus cases is now less than twenty a month, and these are brought in from outside. In only one house deloused by the mission has there since been a case of it.⁴

The Zawiercie baths are now used for soldiers passing through the town and for people who have come in contact with typhus. On the day I visited them, 146 soldiers had just finished and were marching down the road whistling in exuberance for their new state of cleanliness and for the new Balaclava helmets which had been given them. In the "dirty end" a number of naked children were waiting, and a woman was having her long hair cut. Out in the yard a big boiler was puffing a wisp of pungent steam into the cold, blue sky.

With the end of the most active delousing work in Zawiercie the mission has established a mobile column which carries on the same service in other places. It goes from village to village, carrying its plant with it.⁵ These little villages of South Poland are just about as sad and desolate as villages can well be. Eight hundred people, all miserably poor, live in a hamlet that has no shop, no church, and no doctor. When they sicken with typhus, there is no one to nurse them, no one to soften with comfort the utter dreariness of their death.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Outline the elements of a plan for the comprehensive control of typhus.
2. Discuss first steps in preparing the ground for better sanitary conditions in a rural community.
3. The early detection of cases is a major problem in dealing with epidemics. Outline the techniques for the detection of typhus, cholera, and dysentery.
4. What skills are required to guarantee effective work on the part of the relief workers in charge of such a situation?
5. How can a mobile unit be organized? Plan the staff, equipment and program of operation.
6. Evidently not all of the difficulties described are related to the war. Should the foreign service workers take an interest in the more permanent aspects of social problems which their work brings to their attention or should they disregard problems of this type and concentrate on the immediate damages produced by the war?

21. Rural Health Education Begins; China, 1942*

The Y. W. C. A. center at Wusu, Hunan, works with many women. They come for classes, for meetings, for clinics, and sometimes in the evening to pass the time of day. They pick up new ideas about health and sanitation and while we may think that their outlook changes only very slowly and after much persuasion and even misgivings, they are actually in the vanguard with the progressive and enlightened in their own community. Eventually they will share their new knowledge and insight with the people in their own ancestral villages whom we can hardly reach directly.¹

Lo Shu Ying is one of the members of the co-operative that spins cotton thread. Because she was doing useful work in the co-operative her mother went alone to the country home to supervise the harvesting of the crops on the ancestral acres (the mother being the wife of the eldest son). But the country is an enticing place during harvest time and Shu Ying wanted some of her new-found friends at the Y. W. C. A. center to go with her to the old home when Sunday came to give her a free day. Accordingly, immediately after the 9:00 o'clock church service the party started off, following the paths on the high river bank, in and out of woods, up and down hills, all fanning furiously and mopping their brows under the wide sun hats. When they had been going for a full hour and had come to a particularly large, spreading tree with a boulder in the shade beneath it, the visitors all dropped down to rest, but Shu Ying went on to a nearby cluster of houses from which people had come out to call greetings to her. They had reached the outskirts of her home.

As the party started on and Shu Ying led them to her own ancestral home, it was almost like going along the street of a small village. At one end were the sheds where the water buffalo and the oxen were kept, but at right angles to the sheds stretched the rooms of the family home all opening onto a ledge which reminded one of the high sidewalks of a small town. Shu Ying assured them that it was no village—only her home. From all the doors emerged the older aunts, the uncles, and little cousins, and there was a constant procession of the younger women coming in with large containers of rice on their backs, emptying it and going again to the threshing floor for another load.

Shu Ying led her guests to the entrance into her own family's quarters where they found a large, dark room with a stove in one corner, a dining table and chairs beside it, and occupying practically all the rest of the room, a large wooden chest perhaps ten feet long, six feet wide, and five feet high. Into this the mother was putting her loads of unpolished

*Adapted from Pearl Pollock "Changing Ways in Rural China," *The Woman's Press*, XXXVII, No. 9 (October, 1943), pp. 3971398. By permission of The Woman's Press.

rice which would keep there indefinitely so long as it had its protecting husk. As she came in bending under her load, stepping up the ladder the better to reach the open top of the chest, and turning around to slip the straps off her shoulders as she emptied the rice, someone asked her how much each load weighed. "At least one hundred pounds," she said, and she must have carried in "tens" of them in the course of a day.

The large dark room furnished a coolness for which all were grateful and they sat luxuriating in it while Shu Ying and her mother prepared the noon meal for all—cooking rice, vegetables, and fish, and going up the ladder to the upper floor to bring down the best rice bowls and chopsticks. Then there were the usual apologies for scanty food, badly prepared, and the usual insistence that the guests take places of honor at the table. Without these apologies and this deference to one another no meal in the country can ever begin, but it was obvious from the good appetites of the guests that no apology had been needed.

"Now is a good time to give inoculations against cholera, while everyone is at home for dinner," said Shu Ying to the nurse when the meal was finished. She led her guests outside and as they walked along the ledge she called in at every door to tell her relatives to come along and bring the children for inoculations. The little charcoal stove was placed on the ledge for the sterilization of needles and Shu Ying and the girls who had come with her rolled up their sleeves first to give the others confidence. It may have been the extreme heat and the weariness of the grown ups, or it may have been the unfinished harvest weighing heavily on their minds, or it may have been the fragrance of the noonday meal, or perhaps it was simply lack of understanding that bred reluctance to submit. To the outsiders the arguments sounded most reasonable—a simple process which caused no pain, and usually caused little discomfort or inconvenience afterward, which would prevent the dreaded cholera. But when they seemed to be almost persuaded, hesitation won out, and only two of the country people were inoculated that day.²

Early in the afternoon the visitors left and went to another nearby home with their offer of inoculations. The place seemed to be deserted. "Where is everyone?" called out one of the girls to an old man who was standing in a doorway.

"They are all out on the fields and the threshing floors," came the answer.

So, somewhat crestfallen, the group turned to the path that would lead them back home. As they went there was much discussion of their failure to inoculate the country people.

"These people," complained one, "are so ignorant, they don't know that we were trying to help them."

"It would have been of benefit to the whole village," said another. "Think how many times there have been cholera epidemics that have caused the death of many people."

"Even now there is cholera only thirty li (ten miles) away, but we couldn't persuade them," said a third sadly.

They were revealing remarks to the secretary and the nurse who knew that, only one short year before, these same girls had rolled up their sleeves for vaccinations and inoculations only after much persuasion and even then with doubts and misgivings. But for the work of the Y. W. C. A. in their midst they would still have been of the same opinion as the group they had just left.³ One year as part of the Y. W. C. A. in this little rural center had so changed their outlook that in their own minds they were in the vanguard with the progressive and the enlightened. Compared to the people in their own ancestral villages their progress was a marvel of accomplishment. "Next year it will be different." So they soothed their chagrin, and they added very truly, "It takes a long time for country people to change their ways."

The epilogue is found in the story of the cholera epidemic that actually reached those villages only a few weeks later. One of the first deaths was that of the fiancé of Lo Ming Shan, who was one of the girls in that Sunday party.⁴

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What elements of Chinese village culture must we understand in order to help in the development of services affecting the rural population? Explore essential differences between Chinese and American culture concepts.
2. What methods can be employed to help those Chinese people who wish to educate their friends and neighbors in the better health practices of modern science?
3. Contrast the potential contribution to a lasting service by national collaborators when the culture is distinctly foreign, with that possible in a cultural setting more familiar to the American service worker.
4. Try to find indications in the reports of United China Relief and its affiliated operating agencies of adaptations in service which have been made to fit Western social and health services into the setting of the Chinese community.

22. Fight Against Tuberculosis; Germany, 1921*

It was primarily with the intention of feeding starving children that the American Friends Service Committee sent a Child Feeding Mission to Germany, while the English Friends Mission undertook to mitigate distress in other equally urgent directions, being especially concerned with aiding needy university students. In carrying out their aims, however, both organizations naturally gained an intimate knowledge of the social conditions of the people, and it soon became evident that behind pressing social needs there loomed the problem of disease. An increasing body of evidence indicated that tuberculosis was following close on the heels of undernourishment and was sapping the already weakened strength of the whole nation. It was for this reason that an attempt was made to assist in preventing the spread of tuberculosis in Germany, and as soon as the slender resources of the mission would allow, a small organization was established with this aim in mind.¹

It might be argued that in the course of time the Germans could organize and effectively carry out an anti-tuberculosis crusade, and this is certainly true. In the meantime, however, it is equally certain that the German Tuberculosis Association is staggering under its burden because of lack of funds, and is unable to cope adequately with two of the most important problems, viz. the treatment of existing and the prevention of future disease.²

Although the greater number of cases has been centered in the urban areas, even in the rural districts (except for the most prosperous agricultural sections), the rise in the tuberculosis rate has been as notable as in the towns. For example, in the city of Koenigsberg the death rate per 100,000 rose from 177 in 1913 to 2955 in 1918. In the surrounding rural districts it rose from 72 to 122. In Oppeln, in the city area, the death rate rose from 201 to 412 in 1918, while in the rural district of Oppeln, it rose from 149 to 274. Figures for Coblenz, Duesseldorf, Aachen, Schneeberg, and many other districts show very clearly that a similar rise had taken place in the rural as in the town districts.³

Conditions are especially harrowing among the students and professional classes. Observations of the Quaker Mission in its Student Feeding Department present a picture that is extremely grave. In many cases the students are working their way through the universities and they dare not stop earning. Meanwhile the tubercular students grow steadily worse. Among the professional classes it is an outstanding fact that the war reduced many to the poverty line. Particularly afflicted were

*Adapted from an unpublished medical report compiled for the German Child Feeding Mission of the American Friends Service Committee, June, 1921. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

government officials, commercial employees, artisans, authors, artists, and engineers, as well as a great number of small shopkeepers.⁴

Every day adds to the difficulties of treatment and prevention. More open infectious cases are without treatment now, and as time passes, the seeds are being sown of what—unless now stemmed—will in the near future prove a fresh epidemic of tuberculosis.

The Friends Mission, in developing its organization, kept clearly in mind two main objectives both calculated to stem to some extent the further spread of tuberculosis. Two-thirds of all funds available for tuberculosis are spent on prevention among children, the remainder on adults.⁵ The children are selected from families where not only an infectious adult has been living, but where the sanitary conditions are such as to render the spread of infection to children very probable. As a matter of fact, all the children cared for either had already been infected (although not diseased as yet) or were in such a state of undernourishment as to make rapid infection exceedingly probable. To prevent waste, all cases assisted must have more than an average chance of recovery.⁶

A suitable case, which, with extra help from the Quaker Mission is assisted to recover, is not only another breadwinner, but one source less of open infection for children. Following this policy the organization was able to measure its assistance in terms of simple arithmetic. It was decided to assist selected children for a *minimum* period of six months, and as much longer as could be afforded. Adults, on the other hand, might be put on a shorter term, although not less than six months. The following table shows the quantity of material to be given each case over a period of six months:

Cod liver oil	30 c.c. daily for adults 20 c.c. daily for children
Powdered milk	$\frac{1}{2}$ litre daily for children
Sugar	20 gr. daily for adults and children
Cocoa	1 lb. every 4 weeks for adults $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. every 4 weeks for children
Lard	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. each week for adults and children
Cheese	$\frac{1}{2}$ lb. each week for adults only
Sunlight Soap	1 bar (2 cakes) every fourth week
Lysol	$\frac{1}{4}$ litre bottle only once to each patient
Handkerchiefs	6, given once only
Calico	sufficient material to make: 2 sheets, 2 pillow cases, 2 covers, 2 shirts

Other necessities of tuberculosis cases, such as medicine and strengthening foods, were supplied after careful consideration. It was intended not so much to provide a suitable dietary (money would not allow this), as to supplement in the most important directions the patient's own too meager diet. The provision of soap disinfectants, bed linen, etc., is of utmost importance from the point of view of prevention; a complete

change of body linen was aimed at, therefore, and each patient received a leaflet of advice as to how spread of infection could best be prevented.⁷ As all dispensaries are hampered by lack of personnel, in each district, the mission pays for the services of a specially trained tuberculosis nurse. Her duty is to visit the cases frequently, to give advice where necessary, and to see that everything possible is done to secure not only recovery of the individual but to prevent further infection.⁸

At the present a total of 2700 patients, 900 adults and 1800 children, in Berlin (including four suburbs), Breslau, Chemnitz, Essen, Fuerth, Koenigsberg, and Mannheim are receiving assistance. These cities were selected from representative districts of Germany, taking into account the incidence of infection and the poverty of the area.

It is a matter of finance, however, how far this organization can be extended. The cities selected are only a few among many where help is urgently required. Moreover, the cases chosen are only a few of the more urgent. With further funds, the extension of the organization could take three directions: (1) the establishment of tuberculosis relief in other German towns where infection is widespread; (2) the inclusion of larger numbers of patients in towns already selected; or (3) the providing of institutional treatment for cases at present unable to procure it, but which, if treated, would be rendered permanently non-infectious.

The ideal course would be to expand the organization in all directions indicated, but as the matter now stands unless suitable funds are shortly available—not only will extension be impossible, but the whole organization, after a promising and hopeful start, will have to be wound up at the beginning of this winter, at the very time in fact when help is most needed.⁹

Moreover, it must be said that while the present assistance given by the mission will certainly result in a slight amelioration of the tuberculosis problem in the districts chosen, at the best it is a painfully inadequate amount of assistance, when one considers the size of the country and the widespread incidence of disease.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The aim of the new service established by the Quaker Mission was to prevent the spread of tuberculosis. What steps are necessary to build up such a service in a community? What differences in procedure are necessary in the development of services in rural instead of in urban areas?

2. Germany had a national Tuberculosis Association, and the methods of treatment and prevention had been highly developed prior to 1914. How does the existence of a national association affect the approach and plans of a foreign service organization? Discuss different methods of rendering service in such a situation.

3. Is the death rate to which the report refers in itself indicative of the extent of the disease? What factors may affect the mortality and the morbidity rates?

4. The report does not present evidence to substantiate the statement that students and professional persons were more severely affected than other groups. Assuming that the statement is correct, what conditions among these groups of the population may account for their high morbidity? What suggestions for special services follow from such a situation?

5. The mission spent two-thirds of its funds in preventive measures among children, thus strengthening services for children more than services for adults. What arguments may be advanced in favor and against this action?

6. The children were selected from families with an infectious adult. Suggest effective preventive measures in such a situation.

7. What items should be included in a suitable diet for tuberculosis patients or persons in danger of being diseased?

8. A trained nurse was financed by the mission in order to provide more supervision of the patients in their own homes. Do you consider this form of assistance constructive? Will it strengthen the tuberculosis program of the country in the long run or has it mainly the value of temporary aid?

9. Discuss the different possibilities of expanding this organization in all directions based on the country's own resources. Could any branch of the social insurance system have contributed to it? What is the established practice in regard to the prevention and control of tuberculosis in those countries where social insurance has been in use for a long time?

23. Better Health Services for Salzburg; Austria, 1924-1926*

In few Austrian cities is it possible to forget the past. But in Salzburg the gray fortress on the rugged hill, the winding streets and burrowing alleys, the stone arches which span them, the cluster of churches around the Residenz from which the archbishops of Salzburg ruled their neighbors for centuries, all confirm the stranger's feeling that here is a very old pattern—one which must have traced itself deeply in men's thinking and endeavor.

When one says, therefore, that Salzburg was the seat of a child health demonstration conducted by the Commonwealth Fund, the words are not quite at home with the fact. With small exceptions the American share in this change has not been to add new parts to the whole, but to help Austrians to see the design and so to bring existing pieces of work into relation with it.

When the Commonwealth Fund came to Salzburg in 1924, the city had a large array of scattered health apparatus—some new projects, some old, drawing their impulse from a wide variety of sources, sharing a common struggle with inadequate equipment but not otherwise related to each other.

The six *Fürsorgerinnen* employed by the provincial *Jugendamt* (child welfare department) for Salzburg and its environs, for instance, worked in a fashion which reflected the miscellaneous origins of their program. Some looked out for illegitimate children, as volunteer workers had done before them. Some supervised foster children as the law required. Some tended the child health stations which the American Red Cross had started and the *Jugendamt* had inherited. If three kinds of work were found in one family, three workers might do it.

School health was served by two agencies housed in a central building which had once been used by a medical school. In the old dissecting room, children were examined by a School Hygiene Institute, founded five years earlier as a private agency on the initiative of the doctor who ran it. Since he was provincial school physician, he offered examinations as a health service, but since he was also interested in research in body type, pigmentation, and the like, he made the collection of such data a part of his work. When children were referred to other agencies for the study of suspected tuberculosis or for orthopedic care, they were lost sight of. Other serious defects were sometimes called to the parents' attention through messages relayed through the schools. There was little or no home visiting to follow up the examinations.

*Adapted from William J. French and Geddes Smith, *The Commonwealth Fund Activities in Austria; 1923-1929* (New York, The Fund, 1929), pp. 45-59. By permission of The Commonwealth Fund.

Downstairs in the same building was a dental clinic to which all school children came for examination once a year; those needing treatment were supposed to go to their family dentists, or more often to the *Krankenkassen* (health insurance), but nobody saw that they did so, and there was no provision for the care of indigents.

The tuberculosis station, maintained by a branch of the Austrian Red Cross in dark and inconvenient rooms near the fringes of the city, had to find most of its cases for itself, though some were referred from the school examinations. The city health officer was a part-time official busy with his routine duties. Communicable disease control brought him into formal contact with the schools, but he had no further part in child health work.

An inventory of child health agencies in 1924 read something like this:

1. A provincial *Jugendamt* responsible for the state's wards, for the child health stations, school hygiene institute, and dental clinic. An *Oberfürsorgerin* and six *Fürsorgerinnen*, working on an irregularly specialized basis.
2. Two child health stations, one in the provincial children's hospital on the outskirts of the city, one in the adjoining village of Gnigl. Home follow-up by specialized *Fürsorgerinnen*.
3. A school hygiene institute, recently taken over by the *Jugendamt*, which had informally developed, as a private agency, a system of annual examinations of all school children. Staffed with a physician and a full-time woman assistant who had little time for home visiting.
4. A school dental clinic routinely examining all school children but giving no treatment. This had been privately supported, but had recently been taken over by the *Jugendamt*, which had no funds to run it.
5. A tuberculosis station staffed with a part-time physician and full-time graduate nurse, making diagnoses and giving some home supervision, receiving some cases from the School Hygiene Institute but otherwise working alone.
6. An orthopedic clinic privately directed, receiving some children from the School Hygiene Institute.
7. A city health officer responsible for the control of communicable diseases and for the general enforcement of the sanitary code.
8. A provincial hospital with a children's department badly housed and with obsolete equipment.¹

The first step in developing the health pattern was to call together a committee of executives from some of these agencies. At first the group was small, and its sessions were a little too cold and formal to encourage the growth of understanding.² It did take a hand, however, in selecting staff workers to be sent away on scholarships to study new methods, and in planning the first adjustments which were designed to strengthen the existing machinery of health work.

These adjustments came rapidly. The staff of *Fürsorgerinnen* was increased from six to ten, the better to serve the health and social needs of a population unit of approximately 50,000 people.³ A new child

health station was obviously needed to care for the babies of the congested tenements under the shadow of the Festung and the Mönchsberg. Rooms were found in the same building with the School Hygiene Institute and the dental clinic, and here, in spite of technical difficulties caused by the fact that an old drainage canal ran just under the floor, the Fund installed a well equipped and cheerfully decorated health center. At the same time the quarters of the other health agencies in the building were repaired. The woman assistant at the institute was incorporated in the staff of *Fürsorgerinnen*, and a little later a young physician was employed as full-time associate of the director.⁴

These steps made it possible to build up the school health program in several ways. The two physicians working together could give more intensive service, and they began to call in for re-examination children who were found to be in need of corrective treatment. In default of a well organized system of home visiting, this arrangement served the purpose of clinching to some degree the doctor's recommendations; the parents usually accompanied their children to these special examinations and the doctor could thus deal with them face to face. In the summer of 1925, children about to enter school for the first time were invited to report for examination; in succeeding years a large proportion of such children were reached. The Fund assumed the salary of the dentist, for whom private funds were no longer available, and arranged with him after examining all school children he should also give free treatment to those who could not otherwise afford it. Funds were provided to pay the cost of orthopedic treatment at the existing clinic for a limited number of poor children.

The principal of a large public school for girls, who had been sent to America to study health education soon after the demonstration began, returned to her work with much enthusiasm for what she had seen, and began to lay plans for milk-drinking and health habit training in her school.⁵

Meanwhile, as a means of holding the whole enterprise together, an Austrian doctor who had studied at Johns Hopkins University on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship had been placed in Salzburg as the representative of the Commonwealth Fund and the executive of the local committee. He was not a native of the city, and this gave him something of the neutral status which the American staff itself enjoyed in all its Austrian contacts, and which was one of the most important elements in its influence.⁶ Men and women who might never have come together without such aid discovered each other through their mutual contact with the Commonwealth Fund and so learned that they too could work together. Provincial officials who would have been quick to resent and resist innovations imposed on them by authority listened with open minds to the informal proposals of the Americans. The Fund played the

part of a catalytic agent: in its presence Austrians did for themselves things otherwise quite impossible.

While these adjustments were being made, one new piece of work was introduced. Headquarters were established, by courtesy of the city authorities, in a building erected in 1895 as a recreation center for school children, but used after the war only for a public kindergarten. Here the Fund opened a *Tagesheim* (day care center). This was an institution of a type not exactly duplicated in America—a place where some fifty children from three to ten years of age could be given, during the daytime only, the specialized care which they needed because they were undernourished, or convalescent, or badly trained. The pre-school children came for the whole day, the older ones for the hours when they were out of school. They played under supervision, rested regularly in a small dormitory, ate meals specially planned to meet their dietary need and to establish desirable food habits, and were constantly exposed to good habit training through the leadership of a kindergartner and a school teacher. Medical supervision was given by the director of the demonstration, who made his own selection from the children referred for admission by the *Fürsorgerinnen*, and kept watch over their physical condition. It was hard at first to make it clear that this was no ordinary day nursery, but a place for the intensive application in special cases of the health principles which the doctors and the *Fürsorgerinnen* were advocating for all children. Once the purpose of the *Tagesheim* was understood, it was intelligently and fully used.⁷

The first phase of the Salzburg project lasted perhaps a year and a half. During this time the parts of the health pattern were being worked up, some new parts were introduced, and staff executives had at least discovered each other. The *Jugendamt*, the child health stations, and the schools had from the beginning been represented on the executive committee. Later the tuberculosis organization also accepted a place on it, and ways and means of relocating the tuberculosis station for better service were considered. But the idea that community efforts to promote health should be thought of as a unit, and might actually become a unit, had made little headway. To most of the health workers team-play had not yet presented itself as a practical possibility.

To this problem the Fund chiefly devoted itself in 1926 and 1927. The attack was twofold: concrete changes in method looking to closer co-ordination were suggested one by one to the several agencies, and the results were reported back from the agencies to the executive committee for discussion and approval, so that the practice of co-ordination and the theory of co-ordination became familiar simultaneously. Soon the technical problem of integration began to intrigue the workers themselves, and so the process gained momentum. When it was arranged that records from the child health stations should regularly be forwarded to the school hygiene institute when the child reached school age—a link that

is seldom found in American health work—a still greater continuity of health supervision became possible.⁸

It may be interesting to list briefly the child health services of Salzburg in the form which they had assumed after four years of collaboration with each other and with the Commonwealth Fund:

1. A provincial *Jugendamt*, responsible for the state's wards, for the child health stations, School Hygiene Institute, dental clinic, and prenatal station. An *Oberfürsorgerin* and ten *Fürsorgerinnen*, working on a generalized plan, giving service to all the health agencies with which the *Jugendamt* is concerned. Health training by the *Oberfürsorgerin* in both midwives' and teachers' training schools.

2. Three child health stations, serving the city and two adjoining villages, with trained personnel. Child health station records automatically transferred to the school hygiene institute when the child reaches school age and receives preschool examination. Home follow-up by *Fürsorgerinnen*. Free quartz lamp treatment for indigent rachitics. Parents' courses in child care twice a year. Midwife students received for observation and practice of child care.

3. A School Hygiene Institute, routinely examining all school children, and re-examining those referred to public agencies or private physicians for corrective treatment. Staffed with two physicians and with *Fürsorgerinnen* who serve in rotation by districts. Home follow-up by *Fürsorgerinnen*. Systematically referring cases to tuberculosis and orthopedic clinics, and reporting findings to parents, with provision for return reports in each case.

4. A school dental clinic, routinely examining all school children and giving free reparative treatment to those certified by the *Fürsorgerinnen* as being indigent and without *Krankenkasse* affiliations.

5. A tuberculosis station, adjoining the offices of the health department, with a doctor and full-time graduate nurse, making complete diagnoses and giving home supervision, co-operating closely with the health officer and exchanging references with child health stations and school hygiene institute.

6. An orthopedic clinic, privately directed, but receiving children from the school hygiene institute, giving care at public expense to a group of indigents, loaning apparatus for home therapy, advising parents as to corrective exercises for postural defects. Home follow-up by *Fürsorgerinnen*.

7. A city health department which participates in the formation of city health policies, controls communicable disease, co-operates closely with the tuberculosis station, is improving the milk supply, and examines kindergarten children annually.

8. A provincial children's hospital in which equipment is being modernized, which will in future care for feeding cases, and which refer discharged cases to *Fürsorgerinnen* for follow-up; with a director who does much child health teaching in classes for mothers, *Fürsorgerinnen*, and his own nurse.

9. A prenatal station, staffed by an obstetrician and specially trained *Fürsorgerin*, making regular prenatal examinations with home follow-up by the *Fürsorgerinnen*.

10. A *Tagesheim* giving intensive health supervision, under medical direction, to an average of fifty children from three to ten years of age, with a nursing and teaching staff and home follow-up by *Fürsorgerinnen*, and parents' meetings led by the physician in charge.

11. A system of school health education, incorporated in a handbook of procedure, including milk serving at school, health habit records, and general health teaching in some schools, courses in child care for older girls given by the *Fürsorgerinnen*, and some school visiting by *Fürsorgerinnen*.

12. A health exhibit permanently installed in a local museum and used for the instruction of specially conducted groups of visitors.

Much was contributed to this development by the fact that the financial responsibility was assumed by the provincial government.

In 1926 the province of Salzburg took the first step toward recognizing its financial stake in the enlarged health program by entering on its books, as a lump sum, the money given by the Commonwealth Fund and its expenditures for child care.⁹ At the end of 1927 the question of appropriations was more definitely raised. The children's department of the provincial hospital, under the new director, was anxious to improve its equipment and to build a new wing in which there would be beds for feeding cases and other "well" children temporarily in need of hospitalization because of the illness of their mothers or similar reasons. The director had taken an active share in the community's health program, lecturing to the *Fürsorgerinnen* and to classes of mothers and girls on child care, and beginning single-handed to train the nursing sisters with whom the hospital was staffed. By agreement between the Commonwealth Fund, the city, and the province, it was decided that the Fund should make an appropriation which, added to private gifts, local and federal funds, would make it possible to enlarge and re-equip the hospital, while the province and the city on their part assumed financial responsibility for continuing the Salzburg health program.¹⁰

For the year 1929, therefore, the additional *Fürsorgerinnen*, the maintenance of the third child health station, the assistant physician in the School Hygiene Institute, the school dentist, the prenatal station, and the special fund for the orthopedic treatment of indigent children are all provided for in the provincial and municipal budget. Part of the cost of the *Tagesheim* is also met by public funds, the balance to be raised by the private agency which originally ran the recreation center in the same building and still keeps a stake in it.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Which services included in the inventory are child health services exclusively and which relate to the entire population? Discuss technical difficulties which accompany any attempt to co-ordinate both types of service in one system.
2. Explore the steps to be taken for the co-ordination of work of various local agencies prior to the formation of a local committee. What considerations may have led the Commonwealth Fund to invite at the outset only a small number of agencies?
3. How do you determine whether a professional staff is: (a) sufficiently large; (b) adequately trained; (c) needs supplementation?
4. Discuss the kind of evidence which the Commonwealth Fund may have used in deciding that a new health center was needed. Explore the advantages of locating several different clinics and service centers in the same building.
5. How can a school health program provide the continuous supervision of the physical development of children? Discuss the procedure and steps involved. Investigate and compare a school health program in this country.

6. Weigh the advantages and disadvantages of calling in a neutral outsider to head a local executive committee. Why should an Austrian be chosen for this post rather than an American?

7. Plan in some detail the establishment and operation of a day care center as mentioned in the text. Will it be useful only in a fairly normal postwar setting or can the same plan be applied to assisting children in a devastated area or in a refugee camp? List minimum personnel and equipment for a day care center suitable for fifty children of different age groups.

8. Note the two phases in the Fund's program: (1) strengthening of services through expansion of native staff and institutions and (2) co-ordination of existing services. Suggest possible reasons for spending considerable time on the first phase before beginning the second.

9. Financial support was one major phase in the Commonwealth Fund's service. Explain how entering a gift in the provincial books could be interpreted as a first step towards assuming financial responsibility by the provincial government.

10. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the joint financing of welfare services?

24. Developing Health Programs in Eastern Europe; Poland, 1921-1939*

Prior to 1921, the activities of the J. D. C. were largely confined to relief. In that year, however, it decided to supplement its work by a constructive program of health and sanitation, and to that end sent abroad a Medical Commission, consisting of eighteen Americans—thirteen physicians, two sanitarians, one dentist, one pharmacist, and one secretary. The men selected had suitable aptitudes, as well as American experience in curative and preventive medicine.

The commission established its headquarters in Warsaw, the capital of Poland. The country was divided into seven regions, and a commissioner was assigned to each. Three commissioners were retained at headquarters, and two were sent to the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

The work of the commissioners had two objectives. One was to obtain first-hand information concerning the character and proportions of the social, economic, and health problems in their respective regions as compared with what they had been during the years immediately preceding the war.¹ This was an important aid in devising principles of work, formulating practical and feasible programs, and delimiting the goals to be attained. It was considered inadvisable, at least in the beginning, while working with untrained local personnel, to aim at improving all health and sanitary conditions to levels and standards higher than they had been before the outbreak of hostilities.² It was thought that there would be enough to do in carrying out the measures of a simple and workable program.

The second objective related to the reintegration of such professional and lay leadership as was still to be found in the local populations, and the recreation of what remained of voluntary welfare and health agencies and institutions, plus the creation of new ones.³

Responsibility for the actual execution of the work should be increasingly assumed and ultimately borne entirely by the local people. This approach hastened the revitalization of dormant and dissolved local agencies, facilitated an equitable distribution and settlement of physicians in urban and rural districts, and led to the establishment of training schools in public health and bedside nursing for carefully selected local young women.

Besides, it often happened that local people could not do things Americans could, but could perform many essential tasks Americans could not.

*Adapted from J. J. Golub, "The J. D. C. and Health Programs in Eastern Europe," *Jewish Social Studies*, V, No. 3 (July, 1943), 294-303. By permission of Jewish Social Studies.

The objectives of the Commission were attained by following three methods: (a) liaison with governments;⁴ (b) community surveys; and (c) pursuit of a constructive health program.

It was found both necessary and helpful to establish official relations with the local governmental representative. He furnished and obtained data concerning epidemic diseases, vital statistics, and government efforts in the fields of social welfare and public health. He acquainted himself with pertinent local laws, ordinances, sanitary and building codes and made certain that all Americans were guided by them. He obtained from the local central government official identification documents for the American personnel.

American workers were soon obliged to accommodate their plans to unanticipated circumstances and to seek suitable personnel for their initiation and execution. It was immediately recognized that there would be needed organized and factual data, which were not available, concerning the social, economic, and health conditions.

Data had to be assembled quickly on: (a) vital and medical statistics, with especial reference to prewar figures when available; (b) local sanitary facilities, including material on the character and sources of water supply and food supply, especially of milk, and waste and garbage disposal practices; (c) epidemic diseases—their type and number, their causes and the areas affected; (d) shelter and housing—where and how the people lived; (e) foreign and domestic, national and international governmental and voluntary welfare and health agencies—their sources, resources and policies, their prewar programs and current activities, if any; (f) the number and kind of institutions, e. g. hospitals, dispensaries, pharmacies, bath-houses, orphanages, schools, day nurseries, homes for the aged, and shelters for the homeless and refugees, and the services they rendered or could render; (g) professional personnel—physicians, nurses, laboratory technicians, pharmacists—their number and qualifications; (h) rough inventory of provisions, supplies, equipment and building materials such as raw food, medical and surgical supplies and instruments, pharmaceuticals, chemicals for sanitation use, sterilizing equipment for delousing purposes and for surgical asepsis, and simple plumbing articles, such as pipes, faucets, tubs, boilers, and heaters. This stock-taking process included information concerning the productivity or possible productivity of local and nearby natural and industrial resources to furnish and manufacture the above-mentioned essential items.⁵

As evolved, implemented and carried on over a period of about twenty years, the health program fell into ten major sections.⁶

The first dealt with acute and chronic medical and surgical diseases, such as pneumonia, influenza, appendicitis, fractures, arthritis, cardiac disease and the like, requiring home, hospital, or dispensary medical care,

The second dealt with certain epidemic diseases, such as typhus, typhoid, and dysentery, which were widespread both endemically and epidemically, and were taking a heavy toll of life.

The third concerned itself with a special group of dirt-borne diseases, such as favus, ringworm, and trachoma, largely affecting children.

The fourth specified the measures to be taken for general sanitation of homes, schools, institutions, and environment—such as water, food and milk supply, insect and vermin sources, waste and garbage disposal.

The fifth was devoted to the health education of the populace by means of brochures, placards, demonstrations and lectures on disease prevention, and on general hygiene measures to be taken at home, in schools, and in public places.

The sixth dealt with the distribution and maintenance of physicians and nurses in communities where there were too few of them, or none at all. This part of the work also included the establishment of nurses' training schools both for public health service and for bedside nursing in hospitals and at home.

The seventh aimed at creating a close and mutually helpful relationship with other foreign agencies carrying on programs of relief and rehabilitation.

The eighth outlined methodology of creating and reviewing local agencies.

The ninth set up standards and specifications of medical and surgical supplies, surgical instruments, linen, bedding, pharmaceutical and chemical requirements, selected building materials, and miscellaneous articles—their sources, quantities, storage, and distribution.

The tenth was an extensive and standardized plan of construction, reconstruction, equipment, organization, and financing of institutions and facilities. These consisted of hospitals, dispensaries, sanitoria, dental clinics, infants' milk stations, day nurseries, favus X-ray stations, pharmacies, nurses' training schools, bath-houses, water wells, ice cellars, and public privies. In Poland alone, 498 institutions and facilities were erected or rehabilitated.⁷

The survey had revealed the presence in eastern Europe of a very small number of nurses working in medical institutions and none at all in the public health field. Those found were largely Russian graduates who had received short courses of instruction, under an accelerated wartime curriculum.

Accordingly, the J. D. C. at once developed plans to establish nurses' training schools. Two plans were evolved—one based on a short curriculum of six months' training for public health service, and the other, a two-year course for bedside nursing.

The first school for training bedside nurses was established in Warsaw. A building on the grounds of a large public hospital was remodeled and converted, to afford all necessary teaching facilities, laboratories,

classrooms, demonstration rooms, dormitories, residence, and recreation rooms. The instructors were selected from among the most proficient local physicians. Two specially qualified American nurses were brought from the United States, one to serve as director, the other as assistant director. A curriculum was established, and American and German textbooks were translated into Polish.

Out of a large number of applicants, twenty were admitted to the first course, larger classes being enrolled in subsequent years. Within about five years, it was possible to withdraw the American director, and the school continued under the administration of one of its own graduates, especially trained for that purpose, until the outbreak of the war. Three similar but smaller schools for bedside nursing were established in other large centers. In all, during the twenty years of their existence, about one thousand nurses were graduated from them.

In Rowne, the school was devoted to training in public health service, and was affiliated with a local dispensary. Here again, the instructors were local physicians. The six months' curriculum placed emphasis on epidemiology, sanitation, hygiene, bacteriology, sociology, prenatal and postnatal care and the control of venereal diseases. Out of 132 applicants, 46 especially qualified by education were selected. The school continued for about three years, its graduates servicing the communities in their public health programs.

In the fields of curative and preventive medicine, eastern Europe had been served by a number of philanthropic and service agencies financed by voluntary contributions. All of these organizations were revived, and all received subsidies from the J. D. C. In Poland, however, there was no national body which could co-ordinate programs, centralize information, supervise and control activities, raise funds both nationally and locally, receive allocations from foreign relief and reconstruction agencies, equitably allocate funds and supplies and, above all, serve as a permanent central organization to continue the work after the withdrawal of the American personnel.

The only semblance of such an agency in this country was furnished by isolated remnants of the prewar Russian OSE, these letters being the initials of three Russian words meaning Society for the Protection of the Health of Jews. In 1920, the leaders of OSE were reconstituted into a similar national organization for Poland under the name TOZ. It combined the program initiated by the J. D. C., and pursued its activities without interruption until the outbreak of the present war.⁸

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What aspects of social, economic, and health problems should you study in order to understand the major changes which the impact of war has produced in a given country?

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF IN ACTION

2. Discuss the implications of the statement: "It was considered inadvisable to aim at improving conditions to levels and standards higher than they had been before the outbreak of hostilities." Would this principle be universally valid?
3. When professional leadership is absolutely essential for the development of all services, this element needs careful consideration and a comprehensive approach. How can professional and lay leadership be re-created and developed without providing opportunities for professional training?
4. What objective may be realized through the use of the method of "liaison with government?" Will the foreign service unit only aim at obtaining information from the government? What are the major functions of each partner within such a relationship?
5. If you were planning a rapid survey of the same conditions in this country, (or a limited area of it), what sources would you use? Try to answer all questions raised in the record from American publications in relation to your own state and discuss the problems involved in such a survey.
6. The very comprehensive and constructive approach of the health program as outlined implies careful use of qualified personnel over a period of years. Suggest composition of a field unit to be sent to Poland by the J. D. C. with the task of carrying out this program. What professional and technical qualifications and what personality characteristics would you look for in recruiting such a unit?
7. What factors enter into the selection of an institutional and semi-institutional service unit as against the development of non-institutional service? How far are they dependent on each other, especially in a health program? How can a country be helped to develop and maintain a suitable balance between the two types of services? Which type represents the greatest capital investment?
8. The record describes the development of a health program for a large minority group, the Jews in Poland. It suggests that it was necessary to establish a private national organization to co-ordinate programs on all levels of operation. Would the same principle—establishing a nation-wide private co-ordinating agency related to foreign relief activities be equally valid if the services were planned for the entire population and not for a minority group?

D. Providing Child Care

25. First Aid for Children in a Refugee Camp; Armenia, 1919*

At the time of Dr. Marvin's arrival on May 24, 1919, there were 50,000 to 90,000 Armenian refugees in Alexandropol and surrounding districts.¹ All were without food, clothing, or shelter. The death rate from starvation was from 180 to 200 a day in the city and greater among the refugees in the surrounding plains. The people were eating grass, when it could be found, like cattle. There were only two butcher shops in the city containing a small amount of meat which the starving could not purchase. There was no flour except that arriving from the Near East warehouse in Derindje. There was no fruit, nor had any vegetables been planted, and there was still snow on the surrounding hills. The clothing worn by the people consisted of pitiable rags which in many cases left a large part of the body exposed. Their physical condition was extremely poor and the emaciation very extreme. Their homes were abandoned buildings, their beds stone or mud.²

Some twelve hundred children had been gathered by government officials in eleven buildings scattered over the city and an American worker had taken these over in the name of the Near East Relief. The buildings were filthy, ill-ventilated, poorly lighted, infested with vermin, but they were all that were available. The children were in a somewhat better condition than the refugees just mentioned, but were barely alive when the worker assumed charge.

The week before Dr. Marvin's arrival, an Armenian physician had been sent to take charge of the medical work and some three hundred children had been gathered into buildings which had been dignified by the name of hospital. These buildings were in fair condition, inasmuch as the windows, roofs, and floors were complete, but it would be difficult to conceive more abject filth or more revolting conditions than those obtaining in the wards.³

Each bed consisted of an iron frame, partially covered by two planks over which a straw mattress was stretched, and on this the patient lay. Some of the children were clothed in little undershirts and drawers; some of them were entirely naked. From one to four patients were in each bed. There was a bathroom in each building but the doors were locked and the keys lost. Every window in both buildings was either locked or nailed up. A filthy attendant in each ward part of the time slept in a corner while the children starved for the food she was stealing. There were tin

*Adapted from George L. Richards, ed., *Medical Work of the Near East Relief; a Review of its Accomplishments in Asia Minor and the Caucasus During 1919-1920* (New York, Near East Relief, 1923). By permission of Near East Foundation.

bed pans in several wards but they were never used as it was easier for the children to soil the mattress which was seldom changed. There was a small toilet in each building but the floors were so frightfully soiled with excretory matter that the ambulatory children used the ground as their toilet, so that at first it was almost impossible to walk through the yard.

The superintendent spent his time fighting with the physician-in-chief, and in stealing for his personal use the food intended for the patients. There was practically nothing in the way of medical supplies and little was needed, since hygiene and food were the real medicine required. The children were dying at the rate of seven a day, chiefly of starvation. They received only two meals, each consisting of tea and crackers, the first served at 10:30 a.m. and the second any time after 2 p.m. Such was the condition when Dr. Marvin arrived.⁴

The first thing done was the thorough cleaning of the buildings, employees, and children. The windows were opened and nailed open. The bathrooms were opened, barbers were secured, and within three days every child had been shaved and bathed at least once. New mattresses were made of flour sacks and hay, and pillow cases and pillows from the same material.⁵ The worst cases of malnutrition were segregated in special wards and fed five times daily, and others three times, at specified hours. Uniforms were made for attendants. Toilets were cleaned, and the attendants forced the children to use them. The entire administration was overhauled. New doctors were secured as assistants. Responsibility was centralized and every part of the work was put in charge of some one person who was directly responsible for it.⁶

After four days of the new regime the death rate dropped to zero, and for about six weeks the only deaths were from children picked up from the streets in a dying condition.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How did it happen that a large group of refugees landed at this place? Where did they come from? Why were they displaced? Where can details about their fate be found?
2. The situation described in the record was not unusual in Europe after the last war and may not be unusual at the end of the present war. What preparations would have been desirable to prevent such conditions? Whose responsibility was it after the last war? Whose responsibility will it be in the future?
3. Explore possibilities of stimulating the feeling of responsibility for the institution among the local personnel and of enlisting the co-operation: (a) of older children in the institution; (b) of adults living in the camp.
4. As an incoming worker how would you deal with theft and bickering by the helpers in an institution?
5. Flour sacks were used for mattresses. Suggest other ways in which discarded objects, such as wooden boxes or tin cans, could be made into useful equipment for the institution.
6. Do you agree with the first steps taken by the new administrator? Plan additional procedures to follow these first aid measures.

26. Early Steps in Child Welfare Organization; Yugoslavia, 1919*

To launch the Child Welfare Association of Yugoslavia, a meeting was called on the initiative of Professor Pupin of New York (associated with Serbian Relief Committee of America) to consider means for co-ordinating work among children. The meeting left it to General Fortescue in Serbia to work out the details, draft a constitution, outline the possible scope of the work.¹

The association began in a quiet way to collect information about the needs of Serbian children and the work in hand. It was then able to draw the attention of foreign missions already in the Serbian field to needs in their districts and stimulate them to meet them, rather than have another organization come in and undertake the work.²

This association, which includes Serbs, Americans, and British, has been made the channel of official business between the State Department of Child Welfare and the foreign missions.³ The association has owed a great deal of its success to the work of its secretary, whose wide experience of work among Serbs, in Serbia before the retreat, and later on in Corsica and Bizerte, and knowledge of the missions at work has been freely given to all who have applied to her. The useful work of the association was threatened when General Fortescue finished his work in Serbia. The secretary had been on his staff and a number of soldiers had been available for warehouse work, etc. Their work came to an end.

The withdrawal of this help meant that the association was in jeopardy. By presenting to General Fortescue the useful work it was doing, it proved possible to induce him to allot a sum of money he had at his disposal to the work of the association. This sum came to about one million dinars and enabled the work to develop.⁴ The work in hand at the moment consists in sending out helpers to co-operate with the Serbian public welfare committees and help them to establish homes for the orphans. New workers came from England, and the provision for orphans is being accelerated considerably.

But the main task of the association was to help all agencies at work among children by having as full information as possible about the needs and the agencies. It also aimed at rendering services common to all child welfare work. Yet there remained a great deal to be done.⁵

The association is the only common meeting ground for all the missions, which is a service itself. The various foreign aid societies are increasingly making use of the association. The American societies have

*Adapted from an unpublished report of a field worker to the Emergency and War Victims' Relief Committee of the Society of Friends (London, England), 1920. By permission of Roger Wilson, Executive Secretary of Friends Relief Service.

been particularly ready to co-operate and pool their information and resources.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The Serbian Child Welfare Association of America was organized to co-ordinate work among children in Serbia. What are some of the major functions of an agency which plays the role of co-ordinator? Under what conditions may it be desirable to trust a foreign agency with the task of co-ordination?
2. The association began its work by collecting information about the needs in the field of child care. What steps are necessary to perform this task? What sources of information—local, regional, national,—could an association use to obtain as unbiased a picture as possible?
3. How should the staff of a co-ordinating agency be equipped? What special qualifications should its staff members have for such work?
4. What items require consideration in the budget of a co-ordinating agency? How do its budgetary needs differ from the financial needs of an operating agency?
5. The main task of the association at the outset was to inform all agencies at work among children about the needs and the work of other agencies in the field. Outline various procedures by which the association could fulfill its function of co-ordinator.

27. Homes for 200,000 War Orphans; Yugoslavia, 1920-1922*

Serbia was one of the countries that had suffered most severely during the first World War. Sickness and disease of the population, lack of food and clothing, thousands of war orphaned, neglected and abandoned children pressed for speedy solution to save future generations of Serbians.

When the emergency relief needs of Serbia had been met by the American Red Cross and the harvest of 1919 and 1920 had been gathered, the American Red Cross decided to withdraw from the country. By this time the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America had established a number of health centers in various portions of Serbia, principally in the western and southern sections of Serbia proper, and was maintaining a limited work in caring for orphaned and neglected children.

Two hundred thousand orphans in a small impoverished country where thousands of families had been wiped out or have lost their bread-winners! That was the situation which confronted Serbia as she emerged from the war. The care of those two hundred thousand orphans was a stupendous problem for little Serbia to solve, and her advisors saw no other way out than to gather these little orphaned and abandoned ones into the great military barracks, evacuated by army demobilization, or into other massive structures, wherever they could be found, for shelter, food, and clothing.

To meet the emergent needs of this situation the Serbian Child Welfare Association had taken over and equipped one of these barracks as a children's institution. This barracks was located at Chachak, in middle west Serbia, where about three hundred children had been received.

This temporary measure scarcely touched the surface of the great task. A comprehensive program of care, health, and education for Serbia's army of orphaned and homeless children was needed.¹

By the time the association was ready to put doctors, nurses, and social workers into the field, a very large proportion of the great army of orphans and homeless children had found a bed of straw and the shelter of some family roof. Literally, in multitudes of cases, it was only a thin pile of straw and a pretty poor roof, but it bore the semblance of a home. Children went to next of kin, and where no kindred remained, they found their way to neighbors. In some instances, like stray cats the children whose family connections were all gone attached themselves to any family home that would not spurn them away. Thousands were received into the homes of their kinsfolk, who were able to provide for them, and thus never became a charge upon the state or a relief organ-

*Adapted from *Co-operative Reconstruction: A Report of the Work Accomplished in Serbia by the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America* (New York, The Association, 1924), pp. 9-25.

ization. This, however, probably would not have been the case, to such a large extent, if institutions had been available. Other thousands of these war orphaned children were received into families too poor, unaided, to care for them. They needed clothing, medical treatment, and often better food than the foster homes could afford.²

One of the association's overseas commissioners reported:

There are thousands upon thousands of poor orphan children needing aid to enable them not only to exist comfortably, but to develop normally and to benefit by the opportunities which Serbia, even in her present condition, is able to offer. There are also thousands of children of school age all through the country who are not attending school, many of them because they have no clothes to wear. It is not at all uncommon to see barefooted children, although we have had freezing weather since the last week of October. Thousands of rural homes are without beds, the people sleeping on piles of straw and thousands of them have no stoves. Two of our nurses found 17 schools in one district without teachers and in other places they found school teachers but no school furniture, whatever, the children sitting on the floor. The only limit to the number of children we can materially and economically aid will be the amount of money we shall have to expend. At the present time, with drugs and medical supplies at almost impossible prices, with many districts of old Serbia and also Yugo-Slavia without any doctors, only the wealthy among the Serbians have any opportunity to secure medical care; the poor people, especially the children, are suffering greatly in consequence of these conditions.

The physical condition of the homeless children first brought under the care of the association at this Chachak institution was most pitiable, indeed. These children constituted a most abject lot, afflicted, nearly all of them, with scabies, impetigo, and various eye, ear, nose and other physical ailments. Many of these orphan children had passed through untold hardships and had been compelled to witness scenes sufficient to unbalance more mature persons. Some of them saw their parents cruelly murdered before their eyes. Some of them were subjected to cruel and inhuman treatment by the invaders. Naturally, they were impressed by the conditions surrounding them—impressions which acted unfavourably upon their physical and mental growth.³

The plan submitted by the commissioner provided for the monthly cash subsidy to each widowed mother of war orphans and to each family assuming the care of one or more of the dependent children. The amount of subsidy was to be proportioned to the needs of the family and the number of children. In addition, the proposed plan insisted upon certain requirements being accepted and complied with by each parent and foster parent receiving the subsidy.⁴ Some of these requirements provided that, if the child was of school age, it must attend school; orphans needing medical treatment had to be brought to the Association's health centers for examination, and afterwards visited by the dispensary and public health nurses.⁵ Dental treatment was provided for children needing it. In almost all cases clothing was needed and supplied by the association. During the winters of 1920, 1921, and 1922, generously aided

by the American Relief Administration, about twenty-five thousand orphans were furnished shoes and clothing by the association. In comparatively few cases was it found necessary to provide food, as this aspect of child relief had been managed very efficiently by the Hoover Children's Feeding Depots. An extract from a report of inspection of one of the association's field dentists quite graphically depicts the situation:

I visited the school yesterday and found the average attendance of pupils to be sixty. There are many more children registered, but due to the lack of clothing they are unable to attend school during this cold weather. It is deplorable to witness the condition of these children. They are only half-clad, few with stockings, and all dressed in rags, yet they have to walk many miles to school through snow and water. The school room was about twenty feet square; the ceiling you could very easily touch with upstretched hands. Sixty children were packed into this little room. The school having few benches, the children squatted themselves upon the floor. Small wonder these children were sick and diseased. They are for the most part orphans and are much in need of dental attention. The teacher is a young man, lame, and apparently far gone with tuberculosis. He is deeply interested in his pupils and tries his best to keep the over-crowded school-room clean by having the floor scrubbed and thoroughly disinfected with carbolic acid. The children have literally nothing on except a single garment made of loosely woven sacking. When I have them sit in the chair for a dental examination, their hands shake with cold and if you lift up their little coats the bare body is exposed.

The plan for family care of orphans as outlined above was adopted by the Serbian Advisory Board, and the registration of the most needy Serbian children with their mothers and foster families immediately was begun.

Lists of orphans and families were made up in blocks of one hundred by agents of the government department of child welfare whose chief and first assistant were boy members of the Association's Serbian Advisory Board, the head of the association's child welfare bureau working with them.

The registration sheet speaks for itself. There are no sensational stories, no pictures of starving, ragged children. The sheets set forth the plain unadorned vital facts. They give the actual names of real Serbian little ones; their ages, birthplaces, and present homes; also their numbers on the records of the association when the case was reviewed and accepted by us.

The registration of Serbian war infants for aid in family homes was begun by the Association in October, 1920. By July of the following year, four thousand children were receiving aid. The maximum of over twenty-five thousand was reached with the distribution of clothing in November, 1921.

A reduction in the distribution of subsidies for Serbian war orphans began with the first months of 1922, and by June of the same year all continuing subsidies were assumed by the Child Welfare Department of the Serbian Government.⁶

By request of the Serbian Government's Child Welfare Department the subsidy fund for war orphans, in the association's budget for the second quarter of 1922, was appropriated to this governmental agency to aid in the establishment of a trade school for orphan girls at Bella Cerkva, an institution with a capacity for two hundred. This Bella Cerkva trade school is to become a permanent Serbian institution. Subsidies for about fifteen hundred children, formerly on the rolls of the association, were assumed by the Serbian Department of Child Welfare.⁷

At the present time, five years after the war, there remains only a comparatively small number of orphans on the subsidy rolls of the government's Child Welfare Department, while in the entire country there are approximately eight thousand children under institutional care.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is the contemporary American program for taking care of similar groups of children? Have there been any recent changes in approach and methods?
2. If an adequate number of children's institutions had been available to absorb the orphans and homeless, they would probably not have drifted into the care of relatives and neighbors. What would have been the advantages as well as the disadvantages for the children in such an event?
3. What are frequent symptoms of emotional disturbances of children who have suffered from traumatic experiences? Discuss methods of treatment.
4. Cash subsidies for children in family care were dependent upon observations of certain standards of care. In determining such standards local factors and conditions need to be taken into consideration. What are related policies and practices in American services?
5. The association had established health centers. How could such centers be used for supervision of foster children? List different kinds of services to meet the child's needs which could be rendered by such a center. What types of staff would a health center require?
6. What was the special value of the association's temporary financial aid in the form of allowances for orphaned children boarded in family homes? Would an institutional program financed by the association be equally transferable to the Serbian government after a short period of support?
7. What are the advantages from the government's point of view of having the association provide a lump sum for the establishment of a new trade school instead of using the same money for continued subsidies to children in foster homes?

28. Developing Local Resources for Child Welfare; Shanghai, 1936-1942*

In 1936, the Shanghai Municipal Council began, following enquiries of the Slavery Committee of the League of Nations, to concern itself as an administration with certain problems affecting children in the International Settlement in Shanghai. The Slavery Committee, apprised of the existence in some Far Eastern areas, of "mui tsai," young girls of poverty-stricken families sold into the employ of others not near relatives, had asked the Council to offer some protection to girls of this type. The "mui tsai" were, in the opinion of qualified Chinese social workers, only one group of young people for whom protection was necessary. There were others—lost, abandoned, ill-treated, exploited, abducted, victims of war and poverty—in need of the protection which in Western countries was afforded by the authorities. The chief of the Industrial and Social Division of the Council recommended the establishment of a Child Protection Section in the Division, and the employment of an initial staff of three trained Chinese women social workers. They began their work in 1939. By August, 1942, there were fifteen social workers employed, men and women, under the direction of an imaginative, creative Chinese woman trained in the United States.

The task was to find a way in which an administration might be of service to children in need, in a situation where there were no public funds to spend on their support and rehabilitation, and where, in any case, the resources of the community could not meet the total need. It was decided to begin work with those children—a hundred or so a month—who came into the hands of the Municipal Police and were in need of care. Among these were many "mui tsai," but many other types of young people also.¹

The first step was to substitute a social process for a legal one in the handling of these children.² The Police had previously taken them to the Chinese Court for disposition by the judge. But the First Special District Court in Shanghai was an extremely busy one, handling approximately 10,000 cases in a month. There were no social workers attached to the court, nor was there any procedure for the handling of juveniles. Accordingly it was decided, with the concurrence of the police, that social workers of the Child Protection Section could interview and make adjustments in the cases of children who were victims of circumstances, thus eliminating the court procedure. Delinquent children were, of course, sent as usual to the court.³ In respect of the others a social emphasis now replaced the formal court action.

* Adapted from an unpublished statement by Eleanor M. Hinder, until August, 1942, Chief, Industrial and Social Division, Shanghai Municipal Council; now Special Consultant, International Labour Office, Montreal, Canada.

The only way in which most children's situations could be adjusted was to place the child in one of the institutions given over to child care.⁴ These in some cases were poorly operated, generally for financial reasons, and it was then at best a poor adjustment. But at least children were sent to the institution which, in view of the social worker, was most suitable.⁵ In 1940 the Friends Service Committee asked the division what would be the most useful service it could render to children. It was invited to establish a "Receiving Home," a place in which children could be placed at a moment of crisis in their lives, and by gentle handling be helped and restored. A home which could take up to thirty young people was established, directed by a Chinese woman as warden, and provided an instrument which worked very well indeed.

But social workers also regarded their early contacts with these children as important from another point of view. It was held that every effort should be made to trace the families of lost and abandoned children as near as possible to the moment of their separation. A lapse of a few days might mean that the link with their families might never be able to be forged again, in which event these children would be, for the rest of their lives, cut off from their own people. If they were too young, it was often impossible to discover sufficient information from them. With older children social workers tried every device, taking them to places they said they knew, talking with them over and over again after confidence had been established, following every possible clue. Social workers often succeeded in restoring lost children to their homes after the police had given up the effort.⁶

If the child had been abandoned, it was thought equally important to try to trace the family. It was then the social worker's task to attempt to get the child cared for in some way, though without the use of funds which family case work usually administers in a Western country. But "Family" is important in China. If the immediate parents of an abandoned child could not support a child, then some relative was urged by the social workers to care for the little one. Not only were facilities in institutions few—they were seldom good; and the values of home association are so important that at all costs they must be preserved. This type of "home finding" work and "family case work" was successfully used in many cases.⁷

For some children whose original homes could not be traced, an effort was made to obtain foster homes. The first experiments to find the place of administration in adoption were made possible in 1939 through the gift of the services of a social worker to the staff of the division, made by the Community Church of Shanghai. A trained Chinese woman began by making follow-up visits in cases of children who had been placed in adoptive homes by any one of several institutions. The situations of many were found to be unsatisfactory. It was then requested—for throughout, the division had no authority to compel—that the institution

should, prior to placing children, refer the application to the division for inspection. Careful study was thereafter made of all applications and recommendations. The situations of children so placed were found to be considerable better when the regular follow-up visits were made by the division social worker.⁸

According to the Chinese Civil Code adoption is permitted under certain clear conditions, but the Government of China had not instituted any procedure for their application. The division began the issuance of regular adoption papers to the families with whom children had been placed with its approval, or in other families where conditions were found to be satisfactory. The object of this was twofold: to cover the individual case with the "cachet" of the authorities, and to commence the currency of the concept that adoption was the concern of the authorities. Many "mui tsai" were claimed to be adopted. If, it was argued, regularised and registered adoption could be encouraged, the cloak of so-called adoption for the condition of heavy domestic work for "mui tsai" might in the long run be taken away.

With a view to giving publicity to the idea of adoption, a special showing of the beautiful American film "Blossoms in the Dust" was given, a theatre being lent for the occasion by a Chinese management and the film also being donated. To this showing 1,500 Chinese men and women were invited who were asked to enroll as "co-operators" in a home finding programme. Several hundred did so and continued to send to the division people looking to adopt children. It was not found to be good policy to make newspaper announcements widely, lest families with difficult financial situations should urge that adoptive homes be found for their children.⁹

In addition to the follow-up visits which social workers paid to families which had adopted children, half-yearly meetings at which adoptive parents brought their children were held with considerable success. Health contests, demonstrations, speeches, and other devices to inculcate good methods of child-raising were used.¹⁰

A consistent programme was undertaken aimed at betterment of children's institutions. The concept urged upon those in charge was that they should be used not as places where children might be temporarily placed, looking always, however, toward the discovery of a home for the child. Efforts to improve institutions took two directions: first, stimulation of personnel,¹¹ and second, improvement of nutrition.

The programme had almost no instruments with which to work.¹² Since a social worker trained in the United States in the adjustment of psychological problems of children was available, an effort was made to induce the authorities at the Municipal Gaol, in whose compound the reformatory to which the court assigned delinquent boys was located, to give her access to the boys. She was permitted to see them immediately after their court hearing when they first entered the reformatory. She

also saw them just prior to their release when she tried through personal influence to help them to new beginnings. One institution agreed to take boys willing to go there on release, to the extent to which its facilities could meet the demands. She tried to help other lads not ready to be confined to any institution, whose only home for so long had been the streets, by the provision of a little money to commence peddling, shoemaking, or some such work. She encouraged them to report to her weekly. Many gave good accounts of themselves, and for them later, opportunity for regular employment was sought.

It was found that boys in institutions had little chance of being placed in employment which would be anything more than complete servitude. Efforts were accordingly made to place them in factories of the newer type as far as possible, where there were opportunities to learn skills and where remuneration was better than in old type enterprises. It cannot be recorded that all placements were successful. The social worker employed on this work had often to place and replace several times.¹³

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The approach described in the project was to start with the care of children who came into the hands of the local police. What are other ways to discover children in a community who are in need of social service?
2. Discuss the meaning of the statement that the first step was to substitute a social process for a legal one. What are the implications of such a change in methods?
3. What are the special regulations and provisions for dealing with delinquent children in your own community?
4. What are the advantages of placement in an institution, even when the institution is poorly operated? What are the advantages of institutional care under circumstances such as those described in this case?
5. Consider steps which you would take to find a suitable institution for the placement of a child. What standards would you apply in deciding whether an institution were suitable? What is the function of a receiving home in the placement of children? How should such a home be staffed and equipped?
6. Search of parents of abandoned children was one of the responsibilities of the relief worker. Suggest various ways which could be used to find the child's family. Which agencies would you consult? To what extent should publicity be used? Would you co-operate with the local police?
7. The report emphasizes the value of family care as compared with institutional care. Suggest safeguards to protect children placed in private homes from the dangers indicated in the report.
8. How can follow-up visits improve the condition of children who are placed in foster homes? How often should they take place? What services can the worker render, both to the child and to the family?

9. What standards of home and family life should be applied in selecting foster parents who want to adopt a child? Should the same considerations be used with regard to the family background of the child in determining eligibility for adoption? What is the value of issuing adoption papers?
10. Discuss the values of soliciting co-operation of the community. Suggest other approaches to rouse the interest of the community.
11. Explore various ways of improving child care institutions through stimulation of their personnel. What methods should be considered?
12. The report complains of lack of "instruments" with which to work in caring for delinquents. What community resources could be drawn upon to give services to children released from institutions for delinquent youth? Outline responsibilities and duties of liaison officers, of "Big Brothers."
13. How would you find openings suitable for placement of boys who had been in conflict with the law? Discuss possibilities of establishing contacts with employers or social agencies, or placement agencies. Under what conditions would a placement seem successful?

E. Providing Aid by Employment

29. Village Work Relief; India, 1942*

When it became apparent early in 1942 that there would be much scarcity of food in the rural areas surrounding our mission stations, the mission decided to ask the Brethren Service Committee for relief funds to help these hungry people and also some refugees in the event that Bombay were evacuated. This money was granted and administered through our regular organization. Since we have not needed to use any of the funds for the relief of evacuees, we shall continue to use it for the relief of the poor. The committee has strictly insisted from the first that the money be used for people who have no other resources, and who are willing to work at some useful project in order to earn money.¹

The work projects undertaken were all essential for the public welfare and provided opportunity for labor not available elsewhere. If the government was building a road near the village and those who wanted day labor could work on the road, we did not give relief to that village. Nor did we give relief work at times when planting, weeding, and harvesting work would bring in a few annas a day. Projects were approved at Vali, Vyara, Bulsar, Anklesavar, Dahanu, and Palghar. These projects were road improvement, well improvement, improvement of school grounds, and a few other types of village improvement. Since it was difficult to find and supervise suitable projects in all the villages, some projects were carried on in the mission stations, and people walked many miles in order to do this work.²

In our village schools it hurt our hearts to see the ragged, hungry little boys and girls. Some did not even attend school, for how could they sit all day in school without having anything to eat! Therefore many hungry children were fed or given grain, in the neediest sections. As these projects were described in the Vyara section: "The children came to their schools hungry, and at noon would play around the school instead of going home where there was no food for them that day. The masters could not happily eat their own meal knowing their school children were hungry, and often fed the hungriest. Relief money was used for hot gruel for these children."

Because of the increasingly high prices, last year we found many of our school children unable to buy books. Small projects of village improvement were started in order to give them work enough to buy their school textbooks. In one village, the children began a project of repairing the road to the school, working one hour a day. After one day's

*Adapted from an unpublished report of a field worker to the Brethren Service Committee (Elgin, Illinois), 1942. By permission of Brethren Service Committee.

work, the fathers and brothers of the children came to the teacher and said, "The children can't do this work. They're hungry." The teacher said, "Well, what can we do about it?" The men said, "Let us come and work out the amount needed for the books." And they did.³

One exception to the rule that the able-bodied adults should do work for any relief given was made in the Anklesvar territory. Early in August, the people of Bor Bhatta Bet and Jhardeshwar Bet were driven out of their homes by flood waters of the Narbudda River. Many of their huts were damaged, and some were washed away. During the heavy rains no relief projects were possible. For their immediate need about 1260 pounds of grain were distributed free to about 50 families. If we had not had this relief fund, the suffering among these destitute people would have been terrible.

In most villages the wealthier citizens and officials were most happy to co-operate with us. Some villages gave half the money needed for the projects. They also contributed carts and materials. Through these means we developed a splendid spirit of co-operation. In the village of Wankal, where we had a large dayschool, there were many people in desperate straits. We had a head-master in the school who was willing and able to direct a project. During the monsoon the road from the main part of the village was practically impassable for school children. As a relief project we undertook the repairing of this road. The village people contributed the use of carts, and a committee of leading men gave their time to oversee the work and manage the laborers—these needy people from their own villages and from other nearby villages.⁴ The head-master of the school kept the accounts and paid the workers. The project was the most successfully carried out. The people were most vocal in their appreciation for our helping them over a period when no work was available. This provided them with enough food to tide them over until the new crops were harvested.⁵

At Vyara one group of men walked each morning and evening five and one-half miles to and from their houses to earn about twelve cents daily for their families. Work was thus provided for about one hundred people for thirty dollars. One very needy man was offered grain free during the period of heavy rains when he could get no work. When he did not come to get the grain, the teacher from the village explained that he was ashamed to receive charity and would continue to exist by eating a sort of bitter root that grew wild in the forest. After the rains had stopped this man gladly came and worked.⁶

Of course we barely touched the surface, helping in places where we had contacts and where we could arrange for the supervision of projects. Many people went hungry, and many more went deeply into debt to the moneylenders because of these hard times. We are glad to report that last year most farmers had good crops, and with the present high prices of farm products are in happier circumstances.⁷

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the prerequisites necessary for planning work relief projects?
2. In selecting projects for public improvement as a basis of a work program, what factors need to be considered: (a) from the point of view of the local community; (b) from the point of view of the relief agency examining recommended projects? What is the role of the local community in developing a work program?
3. List the types of work projects which might be particularly suitable for children and adolescents.
4. What are the advantages of the method of supervision? The disadvantages?
5. Explore various methods of financing a work relief project: (a) for different types of communities; (b) different types of projects; (c) different groups of people supported.
6. What factors need to be considered in determining remuneration and hours of labor in a work project? How will the standards differ from those used by private employers?
7. Work relief is considered by many recipients to be a more dignified form of assistance than relief in cash or kind. Discuss other values of work relief for various groups of unemployed persons.

30. Work and Clothing for Belgian Refugees; Holland, 1915*

In the latter part of November and early December, 1914, members of the War Relief Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation inspected several of the refugee camps in Holland and conferred with officers of a number of local relief committees. The enforced idleness of the inmates deeply impressed the commission. The difficulties in the way of employment were serious. Holland was suffering a business depression as an immediate effect of the war and was struggling with a heavy problem of unemployment among her own people.

In December the commission appointed a special representative in Holland, whose investigation of conditions in the refugee camps brought out the following facts: 1. The Netherlands Government was prepared to provide food and shelter for the refugees but did not feel that it could do more.

2. Refugees were suffering intensely for lack of warm clothing, a need which the local relief committees were trying vainly to meet. Many cases of disease due to exposure were reported, and mortality was abnormally high.

3. Enforced, universal idleness was threatening to undermine the energy and character of the refugees.

Large shipments of clothes (chiefly second-hand) intended for the Belgians were arriving at Rotterdam. As the Commission for Relief in Belgium was not prepared to handle clothing, the War Relief Commission undertook to classify, pack, and reship the clothing, apportioning it properly between Belgium and Holland; and also, as an experiment, to provide employment for some of the idle refugees by giving them an opportunity to make clothing.¹

The War Relief Commission asked the committee in charge of an internment camp in Rotterdam to co-operate in establishing a sewing department.² All the women in camp were called together and asked as to their ability to use sewing machines, to sew by hand, and to knit. They were also asked whether they would be willing to help manufacture underwear, not for their own use alone, but for the use of other refugees. Their response was so prompt and hearty that the commission was encouraged to go forward with the experiment.³

A professional dressmaker from Brussels, herself a refugee, was engaged as supervisor of the first class, which was also under the supervision of a committee of Dutch ladies. Light, airy rooms were set aside for the sewing. Fifty women entered the class. Material was provided and twelve sewing machines were installed, together with other necessary

*Adapted from *The Rockefeller Foundation; Annual Report, 1915* (New York, The Foundation, 1916), pp. 274-282. By permission of Rockefeller Foundation.

equipment, such as scissors, needles, thread, etc. A supply of woolen yarn was provided for women and girls who could not sew but could knit stockings. From the first the experiment was successful. The manager of the camp was enthusiastic over the better spirit which appeared among the women. Steadily, but with no great rapidity, new, warm garments accumulated.⁴ Careful accounting was made for all goods provided.⁵ The scraps from cutting were saved and groups of young girls and children were set to piecing quilts from them. This class in one week produced 459 articles of clothing, two-thirds of which were drawers and undershirts for men and one-third assorted articles for women and children.

When the Rotterdam experiment was in full operation, the Chairman of the Commission, in company with the American Minister at The Hague, called upon the Foreign Minister and explained fully the industrial venture established in the camp at Rotterdam. The minister was much interested and asked whether the commission would be willing to extend their operations into other camps. This the commission agreed to do.⁶

As the winter was far advanced and the need for underwear extreme, it had seemed unwise to rely solely upon the supply to be manufactured in the camps and the small quantities included in the contributed shipments of clothes. The commission accordingly purchased on bids from local manufacturers about 10,000 suits of underwear for distribution in the various camps where extreme instances of individual need were reported.

Under the plan of the War Relief Commission, approved by the Netherlands Government, work-rooms were provided by the different communities or camps. The commission furnished supervisors, sewing machines, materials and compensation for the workers. In accordance with this arrangement the work was rapidly extended to all the eleven provinces of Holland. Thirty-five sewing classes in as many different places were established within a few months.

Approximately 4000 women worked in these sewing and knitting classes. For each group of 100 workers a supervisor was employed, and received a bonus running from \$2.80 to \$3.60 per week. A bonus of about forty cents a week was paid to each worker. In order to earn this bonus the workers were required to work six hours a day six days a week.⁷ During the five months of operation the classes produced approximately 100,700 pieces of underwear, 28,000 pairs of socks, and about 26,000 miscellaneous garments.

In establishing sewing and knitting classes for the Belgian refugees in Holland, the commission kept constantly in mind the fact that nothing should be done to encourage the refugees to stay in Holland later than the earliest date on which it was practicable for them to return to Belgium. With this belief in mind, the commission ordered the work to be

brought to a close on June 5th, though unquestionably it could have been greatly extended. When the commission announced in April its intention of bringing the work to a close, the Netherlands Government arranged to take over the classes as part of its programme of relief. Upon the announcement of the intention of the government, every attempt was made to facilitate the transfer.

The total expenditures on account of relief work in Holland were \$82,370.07, classified as follows:

Administration	9,506.00
Distribution of clothing	9,155.15
Sewing and knitting classes	62,617.43
Miscellaneous	1,091.49

	\$82,370.07

Of this amount, 49 per cent was spent for cloth and wool, and 20 per cent was spent for wages and bonuses.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The record refers to a service which achieved two objectives; providing clothing and work. Why was this program vastly better than a mere distribution of clothing?
2. How much and what kind of equipment would be needed to establish a sewing department for 100 women? How much material would they need to keep busy for 36 hours a week for six months?
3. Which agencies in the United States are experienced in handling such a service? What different types of work projects have been developed? To what extent have private organizations participated?
4. When would you consider such an experiment successful? Would you apply business standards of efficiency in the selection of employees for an undertaking of this kind? If not, why not?
5. Large quantities of material have to be handled by many different people in such a work project. Plan a simple type of bookkeeping for the operation of a chain of sewing rooms, all largely dependent on foreign contributions.
6. What was the purpose of the visit to the Foreign Minister? Why did the chairman wait until the scheme was in operation to make the visit? What arrangements for continued co-operation between the foreign agency and the national government could have been made to provide a basis for the extension of the service and for a later transfer of the program to the government?
7. What is the function of the bonus? Does it represent wages out of which the workers have to provide their own full maintenance? How can you establish fair rates for such payments?

31. Work Relief and Native Industries; Near East, 1915-1929*

The general principle of insisting on labor, whenever possible, in return for the relief distributed, was made a general policy of the Committee (Near East Relief) when the overseas administration was unified and centralized following the Armistice.¹ The adaptation of the principle is illustrated by the work of the committee among the various groups of refugees created by the war.

The refugees in Persia and those that fled into Russia from Turkey in 1915 were not subject to the same disseminating effects, months of unknown journeying called deportations, as were the refugees who survived the treks from South Turkey into the Syrian and Arabian deserts. The families were less broken. A certain proportion of the exiles in Persia and Russia were men.

Local activities in Persia were completely disorganized by the war. There was no employment. Men were weakened by slow starvation and shared the hungry fate of the rest of the family. The problem of the relief workers was to turn the bread lines into working units. In Tabriz, Teheran, and Hamadan, programs of public improvements were projected by the local relief committees. Gradually, the muddy, impassable streets were reconstructed and paved by the refugee laborers. Some of the highways leading out from the cities were also repaired. At Tabriz a dike was built on one side of the city to save the lower sections from spring inundations.

In the Caucasus the marching of armies to and fro destroyed the irrigation ditches upon which the fertility of whole areas was entirely dependent. Refugees, receiving corn grits as a principal ration, were organized to repair some of these main waterways. Large sections of land were made available for recultivation and resettlement. Nearly 130,000 people were thus engaged at the rate of ten pounds of grits a month.

The same principle was applied during the later years of the general relief program when thousands of Greek refugees from the Black Sea region were huddled in camps at Samsun. They could not return to their interior homes. They could not find work and they were starving. The orphanage director at this port requested funds for emergency feeding, conditioned upon the government granting permission to fill in a mosquito-breeding swamp which had infected Samsun with malaria for decades. The task was completed before the refugees were transferred to Constantinople and later to Greece.²

These examples were recorded to illustrate the problem and methods of handling able-bodied refugees, making the distribution of charity in

*Adapted from James L. Barton, *Story of Near East Relief* (1915-1930); *An Interpretation* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 175-181. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

the form of a living wage in money or in kind to those physically capable of work and for whom work could be provided. As the relief resources of the committee were limited the wages were extremely small, sufficient to meet only the minimum needs of life for the workers and their dependents.³

The second category of refugees consisted of women—widows and widows with children. The majority of the refugees who escaped southward into Syria, Mesopotamia, and Arabia were women or children; few of the men reached these havens of safety. Among the exiled groups of Persia and the Caucasus women and children struggled with the others for the simplest need of life itself—food. Workshops for women were not easily organized under the uncertainties of war in the Near East. The needs of orphans, temporarily gathered into shelters and institutions, provided labor through washing, carding, spinning, and weaving, all by hand, and the making of cotton and woolen cloth for garments. In the Caucasus and in Persia the local committees contracted with the armies for quantities of underclothing and stockings and organized the refugee women to supply the needs of the soldiers and receive in return rations of food. Owing to the scarcity of manufactured goods and the distance from any base of supplies, these industrial activities assumed large proportions, providing thousands of women to aid a much greater number than their restricted funds would have permitted ordinarily.

The same methods were applied to the relief of 50,000 Armenian and Assyrian refugees expelled from Urmia, who wandered southward until they were at last given protection by the British in an encampment near Bagdad. There the refugees spun cotton and wool, and wove cloth for the use of the British troops. With the payment of even small wages a large part of the camp became self-supporting.⁴

Following the Armistice this general theory of helping women by providing an opportunity to work developed into the Near East Industries. The refugees, whenever permitted to move, naturally gravitated to the larger centers under foreign protection. Constantinople, Beirut, and later, Athens and Salonika, amassed unabsorbable numbers of homeless women and children, with a faint scattering of men. Searching and pleading for some kind of work, some small wage, they were denied this simple request because there was little or no demand for labor. Yet these women were adept at any kind of handiwork. They offered embroidery and laces on the streets, and whenever they could they borrowed money for a little cloth and thread. This native ability was organized in workrooms. Some native cloth was woven and some linen was imported. Designs calculated to attract the interest of foreign residents and visitors were embroidered into table covers, runners, handkerchiefs and other useful articles. People were induced to purchase the finished products as a method of helping the refugee women and at the same time securing something very attractive for the home or as a gift. As these

handwork industries developed, women from the American institutions, wives of diplomats, and others, gave orders for dresses and other garments.

As rapidly as the finished products were sold more women were employed and more articles created. In the beginning the sale of goods covered the cost of the raw materials and part of the wage payments. Gradually this phase of the relief program expanded and became self-supporting. The local trade was augmented by the yearly arrival of thousands of tourists on Mediterranean cruises. Each visitor was a potential buyer of presents and souvenirs. Through the courtesy of cruise managers and steamship companies sales of the homemade products were held aboard the tourist ships. Eighteen thousand dollars' worth of these goods have been sold this way in a single season.

Near East Industries were extended to America in an effort to secure wider distribution, larger sales, and consequently enable the committee to give more refugee women self-sustaining employment. Sales were held by friends of the work. Goods were put on display in the various district offices and in a few of the larger cities stores were opened. Near East Industries' products became familiar to a majority of the contributing friends of the organization in the United States.

Workshops were operated in three refugee centers: Athens, Beirut, and Constantinople; more than half of the production was sold locally or to tourists. Goods were ordered regularly from America to meet the sales requirements. Most of the handwork was done in the refugee homes from designs and materials supplied from a small workshop bureau.⁵ The finished product was received, inspected, and if acceptable, laundered and prepared for shipment or sale. The Near East Industries represented a self-supporting relief program, developed over a period of several years. It has been a means of supporting many refugee women and families in self-respect and it has helped to preserve and stimulate the native arts of weaving and designing.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are important limitations of the principle of "insisting on labor, whenever possible, in return for the relief distributed?"
2. List other work projects in addition to the filling in of a mosquito-breeding swamp which will substantially improve health conditions in a given area.
3. How do you determine the "living wage" within the setting of a foreign community? What provision for adjustment may be necessary if all or part of the wages are paid in cash during a period of rising prices?
4. What practical problems are involved in soliciting such orders from an occupation army? What other types of orders can be solicited which might be handled in the form of work projects?
5. Will the establishment of a home industry always be suitable? Discuss different ways of organizing local skills.
6. Develop a plan for a comprehensive work program for women which would allow both the employment of able workers and of those who are physically handicapped by sickness, accidents, and malnutrition. How can work programs be used for the rehabilitation of individuals?

32. Rebuilding a Country's Schools; Yugoslavia, 1921*

One of the conditions upon which aid was given by the association to Serbian families maintaining orphans was that the children of school age must attend school. The association's overseas workers soon learned that this requirement could not very well be met in many cases because there was no school the children could attend. During the three years of enemy occupation of the country many school buildings had been looted and stripped of everything except the bare walls. Floors had been ripped up and burned, windows and doors removed, and not a vestige of school furniture or apparatus was left.

To meet the needs of this situation, the association developed and put into operation a plan of rebuilding and repairing the Serbian district schools in such sections of the country in which it was operating. In this, as in other measures of help, co-operation on the part of the Serbs was made an essential requirement. They were expected to contribute mostly labor and materials towards rebuilding their district schools.¹ In the districts of war-wrecked school buildings, groups of officials and representative citizens were called together, appraisals of repair costs were obtained and the association offered a dollar for dollar, or fifty-fifty proposition for repair costs. In some cases entire new buildings were erected. The local districts were given the option of contributing their share in cash, material, or labor.²

On this basis one hundred and twenty-five buildings were restored, and in not a single instance did the Serbs fail to meet their proportionate share of the cost. In most cases the Serbian peasant communities went far beyond it, for when once aroused and started on the school building job, they carried it much further than the association's fifty-fifty proposition required them to go. The blight of war had stupefied the people and paralyzed public spirit: All that was needed to stir latent energies was an initial push from their American friends. When these peasant people learned that America through its representative, the Serbian Child Welfare Association, was interested in the education of their children and stood ready to render assistance, the numbness of war was transformed into vibrant energy and purpose.

The report of the overseas commissioner concerning the first hundred Serbian district schools rebuilt with funds advanced by the association shows the extent to which the districts aided, not only matched the association's donation dollar for dollar, or dinar for dinar, but in many cases even surpassed it. In fact, were the volunteer labor of the peasants and the building materials supplied translated into dollars and dinars,

*Adapted from *Co-operative Reconstruction; A Report of the Work Accomplished in Serbia by the Serbian Child Welfare Association of America* (New York, The Association, 1924), pp. 31-34.

the final accounting would prove that the Serbs' contribution greatly exceeded the amounts appropriated by the association.

Toward the rebuilding of these first hundred schools, the association contributed the sum of 476,500 dinars; the Serbs gave the sum of 956,750 dinars, exclusive of labor and building materials supplied.³

In the rehabilitation of Serbian district schools the association received most generous support from the American Junior Red Cross. In fact, it was because that organization sponsored the idea and made an initial liberal grant to the work that it was possible for the association to plan the rebuilding of so many Serban district schools.⁴

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why is the rebuilding of schools a particularly good work project applicable under many conditions?
2. What considerations may have led the administration to give free choice with regard to the type of contributions villagers could make? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a method from the standpoint of the planning agency?
3. How could this story be used in order to raise funds in the United States? Plan some interpretative material, such as leaflets and press releases, emphasizing the role of Serbian participation in this rehabilitation program.
4. The Junior Red Cross represents the voluntary contributions and interest of school children and other young people in international service. Develop a number of suggestions for valid service projects which would be suitable for such groups and would also appeal to their imagination and sympathy.

33. Work Projects for the Handicapped; France, 1942*

It is always a challenging task to find or create work opportunities for people whose capacity to work can not be employed in the traditional way and without special efforts. It is doubly difficult to develop such plans for people who are severely handicapped and whose limited capacity to work must be taken into consideration in any assignment. In some cases they may regain a higher ability after they have once been working regularly under sheltered conditions where employment has meant to them not only satisfaction and income but also a method of rehabilitative treatment.

The following report describes a situation where a number of different employment opportunities of a sheltered kind have been developed successfully under particularly difficult conditions in the midst of war, rising prices, and great shortages in supplies and for the benefit of groups of handicapped individuals who have found a temporary refuge in French communities.

The nucleus of our work consists of the *ateliers*: sandal-making, artificial limb-making, shoemaking, dressmaking, as well as the Spanish school and canteen. The one hundred employees in the *ateliers* and their families for the most part are invalids, old people, *mutilés*, and individuals handicapped in various manners, who have been taken in by us because of some weakness which makes them unfit for work elsewhere.¹ For all of these people France is but a temporary residence.² The canteen continues to feed 175–200 individuals a day. We have known very difficult periods when it was almost impossible to get fresh vegetables and we had to use our precious reserve of dried vegetables as the base of the meals. At present the price of wood is appreciably rising because of the difficulties of transportation. Even with the voucher it is getting hard to obtain the wood to which one is entitled, while to send carts to get it on the spot in the forest is very burdensome and often hard to arrange.³

The artificial limb workshop has had a considerable upswing during recent months, following the installation of some new machines lent by the government, and thanks also to a new director with forty years of experience as an expert in this line behind him. He is a refugee, well thought of not only by his own group, but also by the other refugees and even in official circles. This workshop is therefore finally in good hands. Our Spanish workers have resumed their work with enthusiasm, now that they are guided and instructed by such a personality, and the output is constantly increasing. Three new apprentices have been chosen from the young Spaniards who are the most serious and desirous of learning a trade. We have put each of them beside a specialist, such as the fitter, the wood carver, and the harnessmaker.⁴ An excellent shoemaker who can make shoes for the artificial limbs has been hired this month, for we hope that this useful workshop will be able to go on functioning in the

*Adapted from an unpublished field report to the American Friends Service Committee, 1942. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

future, even independently. We are at present at work on some paid orders for artificial limbs, in order partially to cover our expenses: one-third paid orders and two-thirds free ones just about cover the expenses of wages and materials, at least in months when there is no major expense for installations, tools, or large purchase of materials.⁵

The mayor and two of the municipal counselors have recently visited all our workshops, already seen earlier by the prefect. When, at the last, the visitors were in the artificial limb shop, the mayor repeated several times: "What a fine work! What a fine work!" One of the counselors, a druggist, who is up-to-date on the subject of setting artificial limbs, was quite impressed by the models invented by our workshop and since then has already placed two paying orders with us in preference to commercial firms.

The shoemaking shop works principally for children. The near impossibility of getting footgear repaired in the cobbling shops of the city means that our shop is appreciated by everyone more than ever. The head of our shop visits the parochial schools every week to get the shoes which we repair gratis for the needy children. The cobblers have done such beautiful work that now the number of demands is already lessening, at least in some schools, the majority of the urgent needs having been satisfied. The shoe shop has continued to repair the footwear for the children in the Secours Quaker colonies and other children's colonies.

Were it not for this work, furnished free, the shop might cover its expenses for wages and supplies by taking on paid work. We are going to try this next month with the idea of rendering it financially independent in the future.

We must stress the fact that all these workshops could probably be self-supporting if they were all put on a commercial basis, either wholly, or nearly so. But we shall avoid as long as possible reducing too much the charitable ends, in spite of our desire to save the employees from dismissal.⁶

Nevertheless, one must not lose sight of the fact that the employees are doomed to lose their jobs if the delegation should be entirely dissolved. In these days, when commercial firms already in existence meet tremendous difficulties in the procurement of basic supplies, it is actually very rare for the government to consent to issue licenses or patents to new enterprises.

The sandal shop is looking for replacement of its materials. The stock of raffia for the manufacture of the top of the sandals is exhausted, and the head of the shop has invented a fabric, made of threads and old strips of paper, which is amazingly firm and even stands up under moisture (it has been left experimentally under water for three days), but it is a little hard on the feet. To meet this scarcity of raw materials, we have opened a little tannery to tan the skins of rabbits bought at low prices.

This will double the output of winter sandals, which will not only be warm, but also very attractive.

The output of the last few months has been distributed mainly to French orphanages, to the children of prisoners of war, and to the children's colonies of Secours Quaker.⁷

The twenty employees of this sandal factory are in particularly poor health: *mutilés* whose stumps still cause them pain, people blind or nearly blind, men and women suffering from chronic bronchitis, and aged persons suffering from rheumatism. You can easily imagine our state of mind when we consider the necessity of liquidating this shop! The majority of them would have little chance of surviving a prolonged stay in a camp.

The dressmaking shop renders great services not only in making or repairing garments directly for the needy, but also in making over the very rare pieces of clothing brought to our supply closet, in view of the most immediate needs. In order to take care of the most serious cases, from the clothing point of view, we have bought lots of second-hand children's clothing, had them disinfected at the hospital and washed; then reclaimed them and put them in shape, even trimmed them a little, in the dressmaking salon. These clothes have filled a great need for the most miserably clothed children. At the present moment the dressmakers are actively at work making over and reclaiming the clothing which we have received from the warehouse in Gaillac in unusable condition. In this way it can be delivered to the camps in good condition by the International Red Cross and Secours Quaker.

This shop is also helpful to the artificial limb and sandal workshops, which often have sewing jobs to be done to complete their products. The usefulness of this shop is therefore indisputable, as much for the help it gives to the needy, as for the assistance furnished to the work itself. However, it is the only shop which we could close without too much apprehension. But we hesitate to do so since the saving realized on five workers would be slight beside the other expenses and in comparison with the services rendered. We shall try to spare them as long as possible. The shop could probably support itself, like the others, if it accepted for the most part, paid jobs!

The Spanish school continues to function in the same good spirit. The number of children is slightly less (decreasing from 82 to 67) because several of the older pupils have been judged ready to enter French schools. So far we have been able to serve lunches, but we expect difficulties at present in procuring grains. Their gruel is made with skimmed milk flavored with vanilla to make it more tasty.

We believe that the township would undertake the maintenance of this school if we should have to dissolve our delegation completely. We shall continue as long as possible to feed the children but shall try to get some financial help.

The usefulness of the delegation is obvious and the authorities have not concealed from us the fact that they view with keen anxiety the possibility of its closing. We have even had the offer of small financial help, should it be needed, to continue our work.⁸

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The employees in the work shops were mainly people not fully employable in the general labor market because of physical handicaps or age. Discuss possible work projects for various types of handicapped people and compare them with similar projects in this country, such as Good Will Industries.
2. The handicapped people employed on these projects were displaced peoples who found temporary refuge in France. Is it worthwhile to find employment for people who will not live permanently in the community? Could they be placed in regular employment in private industry, with some effort on the part of the service agencies? What are the special values of employing these non-resident alien groups in sheltered work?
3. What types of work connected with the operation of a large canteen (non-profit feeding center) do you consider suitable for the employment of the handicapped, both men and women?
4. Under what conditions can a work project become a suitable vocational training center for handicapped people? How can the two functions of employment and training be mixed in the same project?
5. When would the service unit be justified in using a substantial part of its operating funds in equipping a work shop?
6. The record refers repeatedly to the possibility of self-support by the work shops if the products were distributed on a commercial basis. What problems relating to private enterprise are implicit in these statements? Do work projects always compete with private enterprise? If so, are they undesirable?
7. Why are social institutions and needy people very suitable consumers of the products of sheltered work shops? Can you increase the value of such work shops by planning their production directly in relation to selected consumer groups?
8. The record describes four different types of work projects. How do they compare in regard to: (a) cost of material involved; (b) public acceptance under varying market conditions; (c) value in relation to different types of handicapped people; and (d) opportunities for offering employment to a sizable number of people?

34. Co-operative Aid to Re-employment; Poland, 1926-1935*

The most significant work inaugurated by the Reconstruction Committee in eastern Europe and later extended by the American Joint Reconstruction Foundation consisted of the re-establishment and strengthening of the Jewish credit co-operative movement. The fostering of these mutual aid organizations did more perhaps to rehabilitate the economic life of the Jews of Poland, Lithuania, Roumania and the other countries of eastern Europe than any other means. The re-creation of these co-operative societies for the restoration of the Jewish war sufferers became the paramount objective of the Reconstruction Committee.¹ Thus there were granted in small loans—to the artisan for tools or implements, to the small trader to purchase wares, to the working man—sums which averaged, in Poland, from \$20 to \$22, for a term of three months or longer. Through the efforts of the committee and the foundation, Poland now has 333 credit co-operatives with 128,470 members and 27 merchants' banks (so-called middle-class banks) with about 8,000 members.²

These *kassas* are organized on a strictly business basis and are today of the greatest importance to the Jewish economic progress. We have invested approximately \$800,000 in these co-operative undertakings, not counting the sums lost through fluctuations in the currency.

Do not forget that the local funds invested in these co-operatives far exceed the sums that we have granted. The share capital and reserves of the *kassas* total about 6,000,000 *zloty* (\$650,000), while deposits and current accounts come to more than 15,000,000 *zloty* (\$1,650,000). The government regards the Jewish co-operatives as a very important factor, and, despite the prevalent shortage of money, some of the more important co-operatives have received comparatively large credits amounting to over 2,500,000 *zloty* (\$300,000) from the Bank of Poland and the Polish Postal Savings Bank.³

Apart from credits, special funds are placed at the disposal of these *kassas*. These are not used as regular short term credits, but are given for special purposes: for artisans, farmers, or to help a member shift from a trade that is going out of existence to some other line of endeavor. For instance, our special credits made it possible for Jewish cab drivers to organize and buy automobiles. There is a large field for work in this direction. We give special credits for artisans to buy machines, for workers to build co-operative houses, or for bakers to mechanize their shops, which would otherwise be closed by the government. Special aid has been granted to middle-class merchants. Other occupational groups are

*Adapted from various published reports of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1927, 1931, and 1936. By permission of American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee.

also being organized into co-operative units. A very interesting case is that of 500 rag-pickers and dealers who have formed a co-operative and have already achieved a splendid record for repayment of their obligations.⁴

The co-operative movement in eastern Europe is becoming more important yearly. Whereas private trade and industry have shown weak resistance in the present crisis, the co-operative movement has survived all economic disturbances. Except for the pre-war credit *kassas*, the co-operative movement is rather new to the Jews. This has prevented rapid extension, but it affords real education, and our instructional work must of necessity be very exacting and our inspections very strict because of the lack of experience among some classes.⁵

In 1926, to supplement the work of the regular co-operative loan societies and to give credit aid in the form of small loans without interest charges, the J. D. C. undertook to foster *Gemiloth Chessed Kassas* or free loan societies in Poland. These are primarily for people who constitute the weakest group in the economic structure. They cannot pay for a share in a co-operative *kassa* or wait long enough to comply with the formalities of securing a loan from a co-operative.⁶ This credit work was intended to enable, as far as possible, the hundreds of thousands of ruined Jews who were out of work and had no means of livelihood to re-engage in economic pursuits. The question whether to establish and finance loan societies, and to continue to help them, with full realization of the fact that even if the beneficiaries repaid the loans made to them, they would be paid back in vastly depreciated currency, was essentially not a question of capital "losses." Obviously, a relief organization disbursing millions is not a profit-making corporation. It was really a question as to the wisest use of the funds, and here no doubt has ever been expressed that it was better to lend a sum of money to a widow to enable her to buy a sewing machine, than to give her the money outright. It mattered little if she repaid later in depreciated currency. The essential thing was to help her without pauperizing her. She at least had the sewing machine which enabled her to earn a livelihood.⁷

The activity of the *Gemiloth Chessed Kassas* is not restricted to credit work. Wherever these *kassas* exist, especially in the small towns, they are the centers of Jewish life.⁸ They are leaders and advisors of the Jewish population. Even the government has acknowledged the importance of the *kassas* in the economic life of Poland. Whereas contributions to Jewish cultural institutions by the government have been reduced or entirely withdrawn, most of the *kassa* support is continued. The *kassas* are so constituted that their financial position has not been impaired by the crisis in Poland. They are not connected with any business operation. They are not dependent upon any banks. They are not administered on the strength of a budget that must yield a profit. Their function is to

lend monies which are invariably repaid, and then reloaned, again and again.

How widespread the work of the *Gemiloth Chessed Kassas* is, can be seen by the fact that during the year 1934-1935, a total of 152,923 loans were given, averaging less than \$20 per loan for a term of six to eight months. The total loaned out in this manner in the fiscal year, was about \$3,000,000. Estimating a family of four or five for each borrower this means that 700,000 or over one-fifth of the Jewish population of Poland benefited from *kassa* work.

The *Gemiloth Chessed Kassas* operate today in 715 towns in Poland. Their resources are about 10,000,000 *zloty*, or \$2,000,000, one-half of which represents new and reinvested capital furnished by the J. D. C. Since 1926, the other half was invested by the Polish Jews. In addition to these funds, \$200,000 more has been paid by the J. D. C. in the last ten years for free loans. All funds given by the J. D. C. have been used solely for loans and these have been repaid punctually so that no new losses are incurred except the annual small amounts needed for administration. The *kassas* themselves raise year by year substantial sums from local sources. The Polish Jews have been able to match the contribution of the J. D. C. and they continue to do so. This is a remarkable achievement of the impoverished Polish Jews and a sign of the high esteem in which they hold these *kassas*.

The Polish government has recorded its commendations of this activity as an excellent piece of work. It is significant that a subvention for these *kassas* is even included in the Polish budget and the Minister of Finance has transmitted letters to all municipalities, recommending that these *kassas* be assisted from local funds.

With the help of the co-operatives and the free loan societies, which serve as nuclei for economic measures of self-help, an earnest endeavor is made to bring some order into the chaotic and uncertain Jewish economic situation, to find opportunities for Jews in new trades and to industrialize large sections of the Jewish population.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the essential characteristics and the guiding principles of co-operative associations? How do they provide for their capital?
2. What are the specific functions of credit co-operatives, and how do they differ from commercial credit institutions?
3. Why may credit co-operatives be able to arrange for substantial loans from other credit institutions, which would not be available to individual applicants? Would the same characteristics make co-operatives suitable recipients for substantial grants from national and foreign aid associations?
4. How can the members of the occupational groups listed be effectively served by credit co-operatives in meeting the frequent needs of the early post-war period?

Will the co-operatives be equally suitable to meet all types of need within such a group, or is their usefulness limited to specific needs?

5. Discuss the method of organizing credit unions in a foreign country planned in connection with a rehabilitation service for a number of occupational groups. What would be the task of the foreign service worker in organizing such a scheme? List also desirable qualifications for such workers.

6. Do you favor the separate organization of free loan societies for the weakest population groups? What methods are used in this country to provide them with inexpensive loans?

7. Do you agree with the statement that it is always better to lend a sum of money to a widow to enable her to buy a sewing machine than to give her the money outright? Are there other ways of preventing pauperization? Does direct aid always pauperize?

8. Is it desirable to help co-operative associations in the development of educational and social activities outside their immediate function? Would such activities tend to weaken or strengthen their general effectiveness? How can the principle of co-operative associations and especially of credit unions be generally applied to the rehabilitation of people in devastated areas who have lost a great deal of personal property and occupational equipment? How can governments use the machinery of co-operative associations in connection with the establishment of claims and the payment of indemnities?

F. Aid to Education and Recreation

35. Service and Self Help in Internment Camps; Europe, 1915-1918*

If a list of the needs of prisoners of war be drawn up—food to supplement rations, recreation, entertainment, education, athletic equipment, literature, social centers, facilities for religious exercises—it appears strangely similar to a catalogue such as might be prepared for the army training camps. Indeed, the suggestion has been made that the prisoner's needs are just the fighting man's needs intensified. Such a view is not very useful because it was the deep difference, not the superficial resemblance, that was significant. The chief difficulties arose just at the points of divergence.

The first need of the prisoner was for food, but the other needs were quite as real. The prison camps were full of idle men, ready to work and eager to help themselves. What they lacked was equipment. With the best will in the world, work cannot be carried on without material.¹ The welfare problem was to stimulate activity and to provide the material equipment necessary. A dramatic performance that meant occupation for a number of prisoners and at least temporary relief for all might be held up for want of small articles such as a few yards of cheese cloth or a few pots of paint. The supply of a few hymn sheets and Bibles made it possible for the religiously minded to have services; a single football was a precious possession, yielding an immeasurable dividend in health and contentment. The whole width of infinity separated the possession of even a little to work with from having nothing at all. Many camps were thoroughly organized before any help appeared from outside. In others there was needed the stimulus of an outsider, not infected with the prison-virus, to get an organization on its feet and to keep it going through periods of discouragement.² In all cases a man with ideas gathered from a wider experience could make suggestions as to new activities or modifications of the old. The fresh point of view was invaluable. When it is remembered what these idle men lacked, the spiritual value of material equipment may be better comprehended. Books, stationery, musical instruments, educational textbooks, artists' supplies, tools, athletic equipment, laboratory apparatus, talking machines, games, Bibles, and hymn sheets—these cannot be created in a prison camp; but what is idle life month after month without them? The small working camps were

*Adapted from International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, *Service With Fighting Men* (New York, Association Press, 1922), II, 225-229. By permission of The National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

not troubled with the difficulty of finding employment, but the hours of leisure were blank; to them games, books, and talking machines were a godsend.³

When any estimate is made of the efforts of relief and of welfare work for prisoners, full account must be taken of the conditions and the character of the needs. A large staff of workers would not have been permitted anywhere, nor was it at all necessary; though there were a thousand useful personal services that a worker might perform, the essential demand was for help in self-help. Given the facilities, most camps could take care of themselves. This statement does require some qualification. There were groups of prisoners who were ignorant and among whom were few leaders.⁴ Food and simple amusements could be furnished them, but beyond such elementary help welfare work was powerless. With the strict limitations regarding numbers of workers, little could be done to help the great mass of such prisoners.⁵ Still that little was a vast improvement on nothing at all.

Here and there in the prison camps a triumphant conception took possession of leaders among the imprisoned men. With reasonable help from the outside, it appeared that prison life might be made bearable. Then as the first determined efforts of men bore their inevitable fruit, it did not seem a remote possibility that some pleasure and at least a degree of contentment might be wrested from the hands of hard fate. The achievement of this second stage of mental progress opened up a new vista—some men saw that the period of internment could be made a time of growth and personal improvement. The opportunity of the prison camp—that was the thing. It was not all a dream. With the establishment of lecture courses, educational classes, dramatic clubs, athletics, and regular religious services, there appeared in certain of the camps a well-organized social life; and not a few men came out of the experience better than they were when they entered it. Such an achievement must be regarded as an outstanding triumph of the human spirit.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Can you think of any educational or recreational activities which could be carried on in an internment camp which would not need equipment from the outside world? Plan a leaflet for distribution to the internees suggesting some possibilities for the organization of activities before equipment can be brought in, or when the equipment is very meager and does not really satisfy their desires.
2. What qualifications should the "outsider" have in order to make the most effective contribution possible? How and where can he prepare for such a task? Analyze his function.
3. Since a prison or internment camp is likely to be composed of men of the most diversified skills, specific contributions of artistic, technical, and professional character, craftsmanship and knowledge may be available which can be put to use for the benefit of the entire group. What tools or resource materials can you expect

to develop within a camp, which will provide interesting work as well as help strengthen various group activities?

4. How can leadership within such a group be discovered? How would you go about finding it if you had only a few hours in which to meet the men? Can the worker give any help to potential leaders so that they will become more effective?

5. If a group does not seem to respond to suggestions for educational and recreational programs, there will be a value in facilitating such practical work as: raising flowers or vegetables around the barracks, repairs of shoes and clothing, development of a carpenter and paint shop in which articles for the camp can be produced, repaired, or decorated. What preparation will be necessary to develop a maximum of such practical activities within a camp?

36. Study and Play in a Devastated Area; France, 1919*

To one accustomed to seeing destroyed villages where nothing remains but a few stones, Les Islettes seems almost intact. The most prominent house on its long rambling main street exhibited a large shell hole in front, however, and other houses showed evidence of having been in the direct line of fire.

During the war the village had been occupied by many armies—German, French, Italian and American—and each had left its mark. Now on this gray January day, early in 1919, after the heavy rains one wondered how the few civilians who had ventured back had had the courage to come so soon. The American army was still occupying the village and it was practically impossible for civilians to get the necessary supplies without walking several kilometers.

We were then new at the work in destroyed villages, and the idea of carefree childhood which we had been accustomed to at home was so incongruous in the midst of this desolation that we did not think that this village was destined to become a center for work with girls and boys.¹

The next week we held our first sale in Les Islettes itself in the girls' school which had been first a hospital and then a motion picture theater for the soldiers during the war.² After the sale we invited the children who had come with their mothers to stay and play games with us. They stayed with a shy eagerness—there were only twelve of them—and they tried to play games together but with little success. One mother standing near said, "You see, they don't know how to play together any more. For four years they have been scattered all over France; they don't know each other. Many of them have not been to school since the war began."

It was certainly true that this play hour could not have been called a success from our point of view, but the children eagerly agreed to come every Thursday afternoon thereafter.³

The next week we had a party—or what we called a party—the best we could do with no equipment. The large school rooms were unheated and there were no chairs or tables—only one long bench. So our games had to be of a strenuous nature. There were about thirty children, many of whom had walked one or two kilometers. Their ages ranged from five to twenty-three.⁴ After a series of games, more successful than those of the previous week, we served cocoa, made in a small borrowed saucepan over an open fire. We could only make enough for four or five at a time. But in spite of our difficulties we had a delightful time and all the young people showed interest in the proposed clubs. The older girls asked for an English class.

*Adapted from an unpublished field report to the American Friends Service Committee, 1919. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

After that we held a play hour for the children each Thursday and started organized club work for several groups. Business meetings were a new idea and rather apt to bring forth giggles at first, for the idea of officers from among their members "comme les officiers de la République" was a very surprising thing. But as soon as the ideas were understood they were taken very seriously. The president insisted upon order in a most autocratic manner.

In February the mayor gave us, for a club room, the use of the section of the school which was then used as a motion picture theater. We had the wooden benches removed and the room thoroughly cleaned. Gradually we were able to get a few tables and chairs and later an *armoire* in which to keep our meager equipment. The *Réunion de Jeanne d'Arc*, made up of little girls from ten to twelve years of age, decorated flower pots while the club of older girls made decorations and favors for a real party which we held in the early part of March to celebrate our entrance into new quarters.

Parties are high lights of all such work with children and young people but one cannot judge the success of organized club work by its successful parties alone. Children who could walk one, two, or three kilometers on special occasions could not come regularly. For five years the French child, like his parents, has been governed by immediate circumstance, with the result that he has little sense of responsibility for the day and hour of his *réunion*. In addition, parents must always be educated to a recognition of the value of such organized recreation for their children.⁵ Community center work in France is a very new activity, especially in rural communities.

Taking all these things into consideration, we met with unusual success. Three groups have been meeting regularly for nearly a year: (1) the tiny tots for games and hand work, (2) The *Réunion de Jeanne d'Arc*, an organized group which plans its own activity from month to month, and (3) the English class and club for older girls. These groups have met at least twice a week for organized work during most of the past eight months. Other groups have met occasionally or have been recently organized.⁶

Recently to meet a demand in the village, a sewing class has been started for girls.⁷ It is conducted by a village woman, an excellent seamstress, and is very popular indeed. There is already an enrollment of thirty girls with ages from twelve to sixteen, and the attendance is very regular. They are making simple clothing for themselves.

At the request of the Inspector of Schools a domestic science room was opened by one member of the *équipe* who now has two thriving cooking classes for girls from ten to thirteen years of age.⁸

A small playground equipped with a swing has been a great addition and is attractive to all ages of young people. Sunday afternoon has come to be a time for open house in the clubroom. Boys and girls of all ages

wander in before and after vespers to listen to the victrola, play quiet games, read, or look at pictures. As many as eighty young people have been in on pleasant Sundays.

The most hopeful result of this work has been that the roots have gradually taken hold, and the children themselves, as well as the most public-spirited of the older people of the village, recognizing that the mission is not a permanent organization in France, have asked us to leave the clubroom for them. There seems to be a real assurance that some sort of work will be carried on for the young people of the village after the mission leaves; the daughter-in-law of the mayor has already assumed responsibility for its continuance.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What is your opinion regarding the establishment of recreational work with children and adolescents when many other needs have not been met? What arguments can you advance in favor of such a project? Would you begin it simultaneously with other emergency services?
2. If you have a free choice between a school building and other facilities, would you choose a school as the center for recreational projects? State reasons in favor and against such a choice.
3. What are the standards by which the "success" of this type of service can be judged?
4. As long as recreational projects are established under primitive conditions and with limited means, work with groups showing a wide range in age may not be unusual. What are the advantages and disadvantages of a mixed age group?
5. Discuss the importance of the parents' attitude toward such "outside-the-house" activities of their children. Suggest ways of enlisting their co-operation on planning a children's recreational project.
6. Should groups be encouraged to organize even though there seems to be a likelihood that they may quickly break up again?
7. Suggest recreational projects in which boys would be interested. Describe the minimum equipment you would need for such projects, and suggest where you would turn for assistance.
8. How can cooking classes for children be integrated in the school work as a community service? Should they be limited to girls? Explore the possibility of combining cooking classes and feeding service for school children.

37. Aid to Recreation; Palestine, 1942*

Palestine has the problems inherent in a pioneering country faced with a rapidly increasing population; problems of a government setup based on "native" standards, admittedly low for any people, especially for middle-class immigrants from western Europe. It has inadequate child-labor laws, as well as no compulsory school attendance law. This is coupled with a shortage of schools, especially of free schools. There are the additional problems precipitated by the influx of thousands of uprooted refugees from east and west, bringing extremes in standards of living to a country with the low traditions of child care common in the Near East. There many growth-stunted and warped little children are made to assume the burdens of little men and women at a tender age, and many are, as a result, victims of blind-alley pursuits. The lack of parks and the lack of a tradition of recreation, coupled with a lack of money, have minimized normal possibilities for recreation within the schools; there are also the long sub-tropical summers which carry the threat of endemic diseases. And finally today there is a disturbed national economy, due to lack of ships for imports and exports, which has resulted in a dearth of essential food stuffs and supplies.

Organized recreation, in the American sense,¹ was unknown in Palestine until 1925, when, under the aegis of Hadassah, through the special gift of an American woman, the first playground was opened in the Old City of Jerusalem as an ideal meeting place for Arab and Jewish children who, in the course of play, would be encouraged to live harmoniously.² Hadassah originally considered its function fulfilled if it established one *model* in each key community to serve as an example and as a source of stimulation for its duplication in other communities if and as needed. However, problems precipitated by the war made the *model* idea impracticable.

In order to improve the safety of children in non-school hours and to encourage poise of mind and body under the new conditions of strain, Hadassah and local communities found it necessary to embark on an emergency expansion program in the field of recreation.³

Application for Hadassah recreation supervision and assistance is always made at the initiative of individual communities. Hadassah's subsidies are given in accordance with investigated needs and with the community's acceptance of several basic principles: (1) the playgroup leader must be trained and approved by the Hadassah Recreation Committee; (2) wherever possible Arab and Jewish children are to make joint use of the premises; (3) in the selection of children and in the formula-

*Adapted from Julia A. Dushkin, *Memorandum; Hadassah's Child Welfare Program in Palestine* (New York, Hadassah, 1942), pp. 1, 12-19. By permission of Hadassah.

tion of programs there is to be no political bias; and (4) that reasonable assurance be given of continued local support.⁴

In most instances Hadassah works with existing interested organizations, with whom it shares responsibility of program, equipment installation and supervision. Among these bodies are: the Young Bureau of the Department of Education, local municipal councils, working mothers' clubs, women's volunteer committees, parents' associations, and various youth organizations. In all instances, Hadassah chooses, trains, and supervises the leaders, even though their salaries be paid by one or more of the co-operating bodies.

In the course of the last decade and a half, Hadassah has developed four different types of playgrounds to meet the varying needs of the different communities in accordance with local resources, needs, and economic possibilities: (1) the *model* playground; (2) the *project* playground; (3) the *primitive* lot; and (4) the *schoolyard* playground. In addition it has developed a country-wide summer camping program, as well as children's clubs in connection with the playgrounds. It has also created limited training facilities for developing recreational professional personnel.

The *model* playground is similar in pattern to the type common in American settlements. They are conducted under the guidance of one or more professionally trained leaders. Usually they have a level, paved area for sports, which is fenced in to prevent the escape of balls, a hut for arts and crafts, shower and washrooms facilities, garden plots, swings, and other play equipment. They are conducted six days a week, two to three hours after school. In addition to outdoor games, and on a pre-vocational level, stress is laid on handicrafts, such as carpentry, leather work, weaving, gardening, dramatics, rhythmics, orchestra, and choir singing. The annual maintenance cost of a model playground averages about \$1524. The initial capital investment is about \$4000.

The *project* playground is one of the new emergency developments. Instead of finding a ready-made model playground of the standard and costly type described above, the children of a neighborhood are given the opportunity to build one of their own under the guidance of trained leaders. It has been found educationally and economically sound to foster their project for meeting the rapidly growing recreation needs. The budget required for a *project* playground differs from year to year according to the quantity and quality of the material the children choose to use in constructing their playground. It is roughly estimated that such a playground can be completed in four years for a total capital investment of \$680, and with a maintenance expenditure of about \$640 per year, inclusive of leaders' salaries and equipment. Two hundred dollars of the capital expenditure is required the first year; the rest depends upon the tempo with which the project is developed.

The *primitive* playground is another new development, caused by the shortage of space for standard sized playing fields and the great need for recreational facilities for children in the poor and congested areas. To meet the acute need, the recreation committee had encouraged the conversion of empty lots, privately owned, into play areas. Usually the local co-operating body makes the arrangements with the owners of free lots for the use of the field in a given area. The children of the neighborhood are guided, as in the *project* playground, to clear and fence in these lots. The program and equipment of these *primitive* lot playgrounds are necessarily quite simple: swings, see-saws, elementary handicrafts.

Wherever possible, full use has been made of schoolyards and school premises for playgrounds after school hours and more especially during the summer vacations. The school building is used for playground parties and handicrafts. The success of these schoolyard playgrounds has varied. In a country like Palestine, where it is difficult to raise the sums of money for the initial outlay and where open spaces in cities are at a premium, every attempt must be made to use the school grounds to the fullest extent. To solve the problem of making the children feel that they have separate quarters, a play hut on the school grounds is provided for the sole use of the playground children.⁵

In addition to the regular playgrounds conducted throughout the year, a number of additional playgrounds are conducted during the summer, when the load of stray children wandering the streets is heaviest, or when danger is most acute. These, too, are under the supervision of paid recreation leaders, who are assisted by volunteers from the upper classes of the *Gymnasia* and students from teachers' seminaries. The playground equipment is very simple. As in the case of the *primitive* playgrounds, they are conducted in neighborhood open lots, where a tent is pitched daily as a shelter against the sun for those children who wish to engage in handicraft activities or for indoor games. The tent and the equipment are usually stored in one of the children's homes in the neighborhood. The monthly budget allotted for one of these *primitive* summer playgrounds is very small—\$52 for leadership and \$12 for play equipment. As a result of the war and of the general lack of security throughout the country, local *day camps* have been organized in each town and in many rural areas, through the collaboration of Hadassah with local day camp committees.

In Tel-Aviv a eucalyptus grove was selected as a camping ground and about 140 playground children were transported to and fro by bus each day. Although they did not sleep in tents, a number of tents were pitched both for rest and for activity purposes, so as to give the children a feeling of camp. In Jerusalem, a similar summer day camp, conducted in one of the beautiful suburbs, accommodated 230 children, of whom 120 were social service cases.⁶

The summer day camp problem in the Haifa Harbor area was solved by organizing two camps on Mount Carmel, situated on the hill above Haifa, which is a comparatively safe place. One hundred and twenty children from the dangerous port area were taken in buses to the camp site daily. They belong to the poorest classes—port laborers, boatmen, Greek stevedores—many of them unemployed. A number of the children are retarded in development partly because of inadequate schooling. Throughout the other towns and cities of Palestine, similar day camps were arranged for underprivileged children. Generally a camp kitchen was installed in a hut and the children helped prepare three simple but adequate meals.

The handicraft work in these summer camps centers around making the objects necessary for the conduct of the camp. Among these things made are furniture, mats, etc. In addition, there are the usual activities: sports, camp fires, swimming where possible, hikes, visits to places of historic interest and to neighboring farms, and assisting the neighborhood farmers.⁷

Since the inception of its program Hadassah recognized the importance of trained leadership and adequate supervision for each of its playgrounds and recreation centers, and institutes organized for the training of playground and camp leaders. The course is now given annually to 30 or 40 candidates drawn from the University, teachers' seminaries, and youth movements. The training course is divided into two parts: lectures on a seminar basis, and apprenticeship period in playgrounds and camps. Since most of the potential leaders are busy during the school year, this Institute is held during the long summer vacation.⁸

It is important to note that recreation leaders are usually engaged on a part-time basis throughout the year, that is, for two to three hours each afternoon, at fairly low salaries. This means that such leaders must have another source of livelihood if they are to earn an adequate wage. It is for this reason that Hadassah felt that school teachers should be the chief recipients of their Leadership Course. In this way, there has been created, at a low cost, a reservoir of properly trained leaders for meeting the enlarged needs of the country.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What major agencies and national organizations in America are concerned with recreational work for children and adolescents? What does your community provide in the form of non-commercial resources for recreation for each of the younger age groups?

2. Discuss the value of a common playground as a means of meeting serious conflict situations.

3. What is the function of recreation in relation to other child welfare services? Why did Hadassah assume that the needs described would be met by an expansion of recreational services?

4. Evaluate the basic principles under which Hadassah was willing to give subsidies and other help to local agencies. Will similar principles be valid in relation to other child programs developed by foreign and other local service agencies?
5. Discuss and compare the four different types of playgrounds promoted by Hadassah. What are the advantages and disadvantages of such a wide range as compared with the development of one standard unit?
6. What are the major differences between day camps and playgrounds? Plan minimum equipment for a day camp for 100 children. What facilities should be available; how much and what type of personnel? In what situations can day camps be used advantageously?
7. Plan handicraft and shop work as suggested in the record. What are the special values of such an undertaking in addition to its economy? Discuss the special qualifications in skills and experience which the leader ought to have. What kinds of inexpensive materials and tools would be useful in the improvement of the camp by the children?
8. Plan a training institute for leaders and assistants in playgrounds and day camp work. How can you, representing a foreign service agency abroad, help to strengthen national leadership in this area and build up a reservoir of qualified personnel? How will you recruit members for the institutes? What types of aid may be provided to secure full participation of those most interested and most ready to enter into the program? How can you utilize teaching and program material which has been developed in this country?

38. Services for Displaced Students; China, 1937-1943*

Student relief in China began after China was attacked by Japan. The initiative came from members of the Chinese Student Christian Movement who cabled their American friends in the National Intercollegiate Christian Council asking help in raising funds for the Chinese Students who had become victims of the war.¹ The report deals with the relief problems arising from the steady stream of students who made their way westward for study in Free China.

Problems of these uprooted students have been tackled by the National Student Relief Committee, the body formed and sponsored by the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. of China in 1937, when the call for assistance first came to the United States. The National Student Relief Committee is the only nation-wide civilian body for student relief in China. Its work goes on among students of government and private, Christian and secular institutions. The N.S.R.C. is made up of men and women prominent in educational, religious, and civic life. The actual work of relief is done by twenty-eight local student relief committees, all on an individual case-work basis. These committees apply to the N.S.R.C. for grants on the basis of a carefully prepared budget and work plan. They likewise report their expenditures in full, and all accounts are audited periodically.²

The Chinese government undertakes the major responsibility for the food of the students. Even so, supplementary food grants are necessary; for government grants are not able to keep pace with the rising cost of living nor do they apply to students other than those from the occupied and combat areas. More than a third of the funds of the N.S.R.C. have been used for food subsidies.

A great deal of the N.S.R.C.'s assistance is based on the principle of work relief. Numerous projects are found which enable students to do self-help work to meet their general expenses. Gardening and goat-raising projects have been a new departure for China, with its tradition that scholars do not engage in manual labor. Work relief is especially important during the summer holiday when the food subsidies of many students cease. Special summer projects have been planned with splendid results for students and the community alike. For a subsistence wage, students have organized and run free schools for children and adults, given service to wounded soldiers, done rural service including public health work, published wall newspapers, and performed a wide variety of other socially significant tasks.³

To combat the rising tide of tuberculosis, most student relief committees have made soy bean milk available to students at no cost or very

*Adapted from *The Story of World Student Relief 1937-1943; A Report to the Constituency of the World Student Service Fund* (New York, The Fund, 1943), pp. 8-11. By permission of World Student Service Fund.

slight cost. Special arrangements are made to care for students in case of serious illness.⁴

Among the most appreciated features of the student relief program in China are the Student Service Centers. These are found in twelve university centers, most of them extremely isolated. Here, usually in a few rented rooms near the campus, there will be a spot that may provide the only social life available to students. Instead of noisy and crowded dormitories, students find a little space to sit and talk, a reading room with precious books and magazines, simple recreational facilities, a meeting room where organizations can meet and student entertainments can be held, and sometimes bathing facilities and a barber shop. Small wonder that the student centers are becoming overcrowded too!⁵

The National Reconstruction Scholarships of the N.S.R.C. were established to meet the problem of exceptionally able and promising students who had no chance to do first-class academic work because of the need to do part-time work to make both ends meet. These scholarships give a student enough to enable him to carry on his studies without the strains and distractions of outside work—a sum equal to approximately US \$200. Two hundred students from universities all over China are receiving, or will receive, these scholarships in 1943-44. In return, each one pledges to choose a career in terms of its value to the Chinese people as a whole rather than in terms of his own profit. This encouragement of unselfish service has greatly aided the morale of students.

The genius of the Student Relief Committee is its capacity to improvise to meet special needs. One committee, troubled by the eyestrain from which all students suffered because of the poor in quality but expensive light from vegetable oil lamps, formed a "light pool." Each student paid only one-eighth as much as he had previously paid for oil; and a kerosene pressure lamp was rented and hung in a room in which forty students could study. Another committee has organized Chinese classes for Chinese students born in Malay or the Indies who had come to Hong-kong to study in English-speaking colleges, and had then been compelled to migrate inland to other universities where Chinese was essential. Other committees exist at important transit points purely for the purpose of providing migrating students with aid of many sorts as they travel to the West. Help in obtaining warm clothing and bedding has saved many student lives.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. List various organizations concerned with international relief work for students. How do they differ? How do they co-ordinate their work? How do they raise funds?

2. In what way do the needs of student groups require specific methods in service? Study some of the main services offered to displaced students, including pris-

oners of war, as well as services offered to student groups within their own countries (frequently included as part of a so-called intelligentsia program).

3. Explore the possibility of work relief for students. What examples of large scale programs of work relief in America do you know that might serve as a pattern for student services in another country? Can you suggest improvements?

4. Discuss arrangements that can be made for students who need medical care and can not rely on college or community hospitals?

5. Evaluate the pattern of university centers as described, compared with a more specialized type of service. What are the advantages of a student center which is at the same time a central service unit? Can this pattern be used in other settings? What additional services could be organized to meet the common needs of students living under primitive conditions?

39. Areas of Understanding; Europe, 1918*

The German prisoners of war are living on the plain below our hill in a small, old prison camp. The few rough wooden shacks are surrounded by three high fences of barbed wire. The gate in the barbed wire fence is always open and, late in the day, I walked in. Some one heard me on the plank paths and opened a door; a full face, topped with visorless, red-banded cap, showed in the opening and said in French, "Entrez." I had expected to find him there—the camp cook, a German, who was also the barber. . . .

Our whole *équipe* within the last week had visited the German prisoners for the purpose of hair-cuts. The last fellow to go had returned with details of how the prisoners were trimming their Christmas tree. This had determined us to collect what little candy we could and a few cigarettes to present to the Germans, and, because we thought we might give them a song, we learned "Tannenbaum."

After supper, when the night had gone quite black, we walked down the hill to the camp, through the gate in the walls of barbed wire, and stopped some paces from the darkened shack. A streak of light shone from under the door and a few voices sounded from within. Mack gave us the note, and we started:

O Tannenbaum, O Tannenbaum!
Wie treu sind deine Blätter!

The door opened, two figures moved through it and stood in the shaft of light which stretched across the ground. When we finished a murmur of voices rose from the doorway and we went inside, placing our few boxes of candy and cigarettes on the table. The room was crowded with people; we were surprised to see all our fellows from Villers there.

All the light came from the tree, a spruce, loaded with candles and draped with strings of ornaments, short lengths of straw and discs of white paper threaded alternately along yards of string. Everybody was grouped about the Christmas tree, the Germans by the door, the English and Americans in the center of the room, the French guard in the middle. The candle light threw each head into brilliant relief against the dusky background of old, wood walls; along one of these was chalked in German letters: "Glory to God in the Highest, Peace on Earth, Goodwill toward Men." One of the Villers boys, speaking German with some effort, suggested that we all sing "Die Lorelei," and we sang. It is a simple moving theme, and the German voices enriched it with intense feeling; the tall fellow next me reached a fine climax on the long, high note which made me realize that these men were of a country rich in musical

*Adapted from D. Owen Stephens, *With Quakers in France* (London, C. W. Daniel, 1921), pp. 274-278. By permission of Mrs. Lucie Stephens.

tradition. A silence followed which the officer broke, speaking good English: "We are surprised that you know our songs."

Some one said, "Let's give them an English song," and we decided upon "A Long, Long Trail." After that, Christmas carols were suggested and we sang "Hark the Herald Angels," "Joy to the World," the Germans following the music, but not the words. We realized that we must sing something French, but there seemed to be only the one fierce war and nationalist song, "La Marseillaise" that was known, so the officer asked the French guard to give them the thing he had sung for them the day before. It was a music-hall love song and we all listened solemnly. At the end of this solo we all sang, in its original German, the Christ song: "Stille Nacht; Heilige Nacht."

The thing struck deep; the room was not hot, but beads of perspiration stood out from many foreheads and handkerchiefs appeared to wipe them away. At the end, one of the prisoners spoke to us in very smooth and well intonated German, finishing with the idea that: "Since we cannot understand each other in words, we are unable to make our feelings known to you in that way; it must be our handshakes as we say good-night which will convey our feelings."

The officer followed him very quietly and seriously in English: "It is very good of you to think of us, here, at this time. It is our fifth Christmas away from our homes, and it has been the deepest experience that we have had in that time."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

Many workers will be eager to test in the practice of foreign service that which binds men together despite hostilities, strong tensions, and violent conflicts. They will wish to discover areas in which minds can meet and in which community of feeling may be experienced as a promise of more co-operative relations among men and nations.

1. How can you as an individual worker within a service unit contribute to discovering such areas of understanding?
2. How can you find and provide opportunities—within typical situations of service as illustrated in many preceding records—which may produce a similar powerful experience of meeting of minds and the revelation of basic understanding? Illustrate first steps in handling old conflicts in a new way.

G. Leadership Services

40. A Project in Two-Way Passage; Poland, 1920*

One of the real pieces of good fortune that came to the American Relief Administration in Poland was securing the service of the thirty "Polish Grey Samaritans" for children's relief work. These were American girls of Polish ancestry or birth, who were trained in America so that they might go back to the land of their fathers and help.¹ The idea transpired when the Young Women's Christian Association sent an American woman to Warsaw in the spring of 1919 to look over the situation with regard to a field for its efforts. An arrangement was then made with Madam Paderewska, the wife of the Premier, whereby she would use these Polish-American girls in children's relief work in Polish institutions. Colonel Grove of the American Relief Administration approved the plan, and word was sent home to select and train thirty women for this service. The Y. W. C. A. called mass meetings in the large Polish centers of America, appointed committees composed of Polish citizens and a member of the Y. W. C. A., and sent out appeals for volunteers who would give a year's service to their native country. The response was tremendous. There were four or five hundred applications.

The committee finally selected ninety-four who were to take the three months' course. The girls were sent to New York, where they studied child feeding, first aid, home visiting, and took a course in nursing aid in various hospitals. They were taught English and Polish, and at the end of the training period, twenty girls were chosen and started for Poland.² They arrived in Warsaw in September, 1919, and were assigned to a house-to-house investigation of conditions in that city.³

In January ten more girls joined the unit. The thirty were distributed through Poland in groups of two. The country was divided into five districts, each district being in charge of one of the Americans from our organization with six of the Polish Greys as his assistants.

The first task given them was the supervision of the clothing distribution. It was their business to go from village to village, to ascertain that only the very neediest children had been selected to receive the outfit of boots and shoes and coat. They organized sewing classes and taught the mothers how to make up the coats. When the distribution was finished we knew that every coat and pair of shoes was on the child who needed it most.

The girls are Polish enough to have their entire heart in their work, and American enough to be extremely efficient. They understand their

*Adapted from Adaline W. Fuller, "The Polish Grey Samaritans," *American Relief Administration Bulletin*, Series 2, No. 5 (Dec. 1, 1920), pp. 46-49.

people as none of us can, and of course speaking the language is of tremendous advantage. During the winter months the Polish Greys underwent every imaginable hardship. Nothing dismayed or daunted them. They had to travel most of the time in springless wooden wagons, or in freight cars, or on foot. Often there was no fit place in which they could spend the night. The food was wretched and there was very little of it. They came in contact with every variety of disease, and yet never one word of complaint came from any of them. They had an amazing spirit, and an earnestness and devotion to the cause that was unique.⁴

The clothing program completed, the girls were put on the inspection of the feeding operation. At this time we supplied a Ford automobile to each two girls so that they could cover their territory frequently and comfortably.

The Polish Greys were assigned to help distribute the gift of food packages for the Polish intelligentsia. A detailed report was sent in to us of every package delivered.

The girls had a small amount of money with them at all times that came from individual gifts. We gave this to them to use at their discretion. They showed excellent judgment and expended it well. There were many schools that could not function for lack of books, paper, maps, and pencils. The girls would send back to Warsaw for the necessary supplies. There were orphan homes that lacked knives and forks and spoons until our girls came along. A widowed mother with five small children returned from exile in Russia to find her home gone and the town in ruins. The girls decided that one of the best ways in the world to spend a little of their fund would be to provide a goat to supply milk for this homeless family. Others, returning to find their homes gone, were given planting potatoes, which set them to work with a hope for the future. It is easy enough to give away money, but these girls deserve great credit for the manner in which they spent it. They used to lie awake nights figuring out just where and how each dollar would do the most good.⁵

When the intelligentsia relief was at its height, the Grey Samaritans had the refugee problem added to their own work. They went to the railway depots, and out on the roads, and found train loads and wagon loads of miserable human beings who had been days without food. Milk and feeding stations were established for the children, and later when generous American organizations gave us large sums of money for general refugee relief, we included kitchens for the adults. These were very hectic times. The girls worked night and day. Distributing intelligentsia relief, caring for refugees, feeding the children, and evacuating our food-stuff was the program and the Polish Greys had a large share in all of it.

In September, when the first unit's year was up, they practically all volunteered to remain. It was decided to keep fifteen for the coming winter and the other fifteen were reluctantly allowed to return to Amer-

ica. A scheme was worked out whereby each of them will take a young Polish college girl as an understudy.⁶ She will accompany the Polish Grey on all her trips and inspections, thus getting an insight into the situation, which would otherwise be unobtainable, and also acquire American efficiency.⁷ By this means it is hoped that when the Americans finally withdraw, a body of trained workers will be left behind, who will be capable of carrying on the wonderful work done by the Polish Grey Samaritans.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. There is a great deal of interest in using members of different nationality groups in this country—immigrants of the first and second generations—for reconstruction work in their countries of origin. The same idea was applied after the last war in a very limited way as illustrated in the service of the Polish Grey Samaritans. Discuss the possible advantages and disadvantages of recruiting workers from a given nationality group for service abroad among members of the same nationality.
2. The girls who had been recruited for the service apparently had no specific training before they were enrolled in the three months' course. How could they have been recruited in a different way so as to bring desirable skills, in addition to some knowledge of Polish conditions? How will an orientation course for workers of a given nationality background differ from an orientation course for other young Americans interested in service abroad?
3. Observe the initial and the later assignments of work. How did they relate to the specific qualifications of the girls? Were they fully prepared to handle the services as listed? Prepare a brief supplemental training program for new workers arriving in a foreign field which will give them final orientation within the new setting.
4. Why does the report stress the hardships faced by the Polish-American workers? In what way were they different from the experiences of other American field workers? Relate their experiences to their functions.
5. The Grey Samaritans had a sum of cash to use at their discretion. Does this method seem advisable? Do you agree with the different ways in which the girls spent the money to provide commodities for institutions? What reasons in favor of and against such a method could be stated?
6. Evaluate the scheme of preparing successors in the manner described in the record. On what will its chances of success depend? How should the girls be selected for this purpose?
7. What do you consider characteristic elements of "American efficiency?" Are other nations likely to be "inefficient" or are there significant differences in types of efficiency? Try to explain in simple terms, suitable for a co-worker from a foreign nationality group, your main requirements in regard to efficiency.

41. Aid in Developing Leadership; Austria, 1926-1927*

The home visiting service of the Salzburg *Fürsorgerinnen* should have been the keystone of a well-planned unit of work. Even more than the public health nurse in America, the *Fürsorgerin*, who is a social as well as a health worker, must be the link between one agency and another, and between all of them and the home.

But in Salzburg the *Fürsorgerinnen* were under conservative direction, and their social and legal responsibilities still took precedence over their health work. Early in 1926 a count of home visits showed that contacts with the family primarily for social reasons were three times as many as those primarily for health reasons.¹ Yet follow-up from the child health stations was already so general that it was no longer necessary to schedule special visits for the supervision of illegitimate infants; all babies were now likely to be known to the *Fürsorgerinnen* and most of them were visited routinely.

Scholarships, one after another, were gradually broadening the point of view of the staff workers, but the full development of generalized service had to wait upon the closer integration of the agencies which they served. The Fund contented itself at first, therefore, with entering into a written agreement with the *Jugendamt* by which it shared in all major decisions as to staff appointments and assignments.²

By the end of 1927 time was ripe for a new grouping of the *Fürsorgerinnen*.³ The city and its environs were now divided into six districts, and six of the *Fürsorgerinnen* were assigned to these districts for generalized service. With the exception of tuberculosis work and the supervision of orthopedic cases, the *Fürsorgerinnen* now began to make, each in her own group of families, all visits for both health and social purposes—to supervise foster and illegitimate children, to follow up the child health center and school examinations, to support the health teaching of the new prenatal station, and to do such general health education in the home as was possible in each individual case. *Fürsorgerinnen* were rotated in the School Hygiene Institute and the health stations so that as far as possible children from a given district were always in contact with their own home visitor.

The other four staff workers remained on specialized assignments, one dividing her time between office work and the dental clinic.⁴ The focus of interest had swung so far toward the health aspect of *Fürsorge* that in 1928, out of a total of approximately 10,000 home visits made by the six field workers, nearly half were reported as being primarily for

*Adapted from William J. French and Geddes Smith, *The Commonwealth Fund Activities in Austria; 1923-1929* (New York, The Fund, 1929), pp. 50-59. By permission of The Commonwealth Fund.

health purposes, and it is safe to say that health considerations were kept in mind in the great majority of all their visits.⁵

Some of the *Fürsorgerinnen* made regular visits to the schools to consult with the teachers, averaging a visit a month to each school. All the girls in two junior high schools took a course in child care which was worked out by the principal, the *Oberfürsorgerin* and the demonstration director, and taught by the *Fürsorgerinnen*. The director of the children's hospital, the director of the demonstration, and the provincial *Oberfürsorgerin* all joined in discussing child care and health education in the summer training course for teachers, and the *Oberfürsorgerin* also met the students in the winter terms.

These steps taken, Salzburg became increasingly useful as a training center for health workers from other parts of Austria. *Fürsorgerinnen* and doctors on their way to or from England or Germany for postgraduate work visited the city. *Oberfürsorgerinnen* from all the provinces met there for conferences, doctors were sent there for a few days of study and teachers found there a stimulus to their own health work.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Under what conditions would the Commonwealth Fund be justified in encouraging the health functions of the *Fürsorgerin* service at the expense of the legal and social services?
2. Why should the Fund have felt it necessary to have an agreement in writing with the *Jugendamt* regarding participation in staff appointments and assignments? Discuss advantages and disadvantages of having an outside organization share in major decisions of this kind?
3. The Commonwealth Fund had been in operation for three years before an attempt at staff development was made. What conditions in a community should be fulfilled before such a service should be attempted by an outside agency?
4. What are the criteria for determining whether a specialized or a generalized service will be more adequate in a given situation?
5. The Salzburg *Fürsorgerinnen* provided social, legal, and health services for children. How does the American child welfare pattern provide for these services?

42. A New Service Fails; Austria, 1926*

In 1926, when it seemed evident that Salzburg had already achieved enough unity in health work to assimilate a new project, the Commonwealth Fund began an important experiment. Outside Vienna and Graz the visiting nurse was unknown in Austria except in tuberculosis work, for which the *Fürsorgerin* was generally thought to be inadequate.¹ The *Fürsorgerin*, a resourceful home visitor who could do effective teaching and help to solve ordinary social problems, had neither the training nor the time for bedside nursing. As an experiment in supplementing her service, the Fund employed a graduate nurse to do hourly bedside nursing in Salzburg.² This worker, who happened to have also an interest in public health nursing, offered her services to the doctors and the public, and also undertook to follow up children registered at the orthopedic clinic who needed competent supervision for their corrective exercises at home.³

The response to the offer was slight. Few cases were received, and temporarily the nurse was assigned to the delicate task of home visits to children enrolled in the *Tagesheim* (a day-care center for undernourished and convalescent children), where close co-operation between home and institution was especially necessary. With this combination of duties she found herself too busy to develop all possible leads for bedside work, and a second nurse was employed—this time one whose preference was for the care of the sick rather than for public health work. Even this balanced staff, however, could not find enough cases to keep busy.

Every possible channel of publicity was used in the effort to make the service popular: the *Fürsorgerinnen* and the health officer spread the news; advertisements were printed and placards posted; a women's committee was formed and set earnestly to work. But the habits of Salzburg in this respect were too strong to change. The houses were so crowded that the sick were taken as soon as possible to the hospitals.⁴ The demand for bedside nursing never reached a point where it justified the continuance of the work as a specialized activity.

After the first year, therefore, the nurses began to assist the tuberculosis nurse in her home visiting, where there was more than enough for one person to do. Still later they began to visit children discharged from the provincial children's hospital. In 1928 when the second nurse resigned because of illness she was not replaced because there was no hope that Salzburg would eventually assume the nursing budget for itself. The original nurse remained in service to the end of the demonstration period. Bedside nursing as a specialized community service project had failed.⁵

*Adapted from William J. French and Geddes Smith, *The Commonwealth Fund Activities in Austria; 1923-1929* (New York, The Fund, 1929), pp. 55-56. By permission of The Commonwealth Fund.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The visiting nurse is a well known figure in many American communities. What kind of service does she perform? Discuss conditions and customs with regard to treatment of illness in the United States that may have contributed to and influenced the development of this service.
2. Is bedside nursing necessarily a task which calls for organized service?
3. What are the characteristic features of public health nursing in the American concept of this term? Is this concept generally applicable in other countries? Can a different division of functions between general family service and public health service or an integration of these functions be worked out? What is the background of the American division of functions in these fields?
4. What other explanation than over-crowding of homes may be given for the frequent use of hospitals?
5. Would it have been possible to anticipate the failure of this service project by better planning? What kind of survey might have been made before launching the project to clarify the community's need for such an undertaking?

43. Contributions to Rural Communities; Macedonia, 1929-1933*

The rural life program of the Near East Foundation is making a distinct imprint upon the lives of the Macedonian people. At the outset the program placed all its emphasis on practical farm instruction to provide as quickly as possible more food for the family and more grain in the barns.

Instruction began in an experimental way in fifteen villages. In 1930 the idea was adopted and extended to thirty-six villages in six districts. Now, eighteen villages in three new districts have been added.¹ In this group of fifty-four villages the program is concentrated and attention centered on perfecting every phase of the demonstration. Simultaneously with farm instruction, projects in health, recreation, and child and community welfare are being carried on.

Three Americans are in charge, assisted by eight Greek nurses trained in nursing and home economics, nine Greek rural instructors (Greek farm school graduates) and two other Greek assistants who have charge of leisure time activities and health projects.²

Each instructor received a preliminary course of training. The American supervisor visits him twice a month to observe his technique in class and field. Training is kept up-to-date through institutes which teach not only farm matters, but the art and science of teaching. A leading Greek normal school and the School of Public Health and Sanitation are co-operating in teaching the *agronomes* modern methods in village sanitation and improvement.³

Locally, the program operates as follows: Upon the invitation of village leaders, negotiations usually open with a conference between the American representative and the mayor, priest, leading farmers, and the schoolmaster, where there is one. Then the American representative presents the plan. If the villagers decide to have it, they arrange to provide a meeting place, garden plots, experimental land, and other requirements.

Actual work starts with the arrival of the foundation's representative, the Greek rural instructor who makes his home in the district he covers. He is known as the *agronome*. He studies village problems and builds his program accordingly. For the first few months the work is experimental, but out of this grows a definite plan. To keep in touch with the six villages in his assignment, the *agronome* is always in action. Wherever he goes he carries his equipment case, a source of never-ending wonder to the peasants. Included in it are pictures, posters, and pamphlets

*Adapted from *Near East Foundation; A Twentieth Century Concept of Practical Philanthropy* (New York, The Foundation, 2nd ed., 1933), pp. 8-13. By permission of Near East Foundation.

for classroom teaching; tools for grafting, budding, and pruning; chemicals for simple experiments; and a first aid kit.

The year is divided into two terms: winter instruction and summer demonstration and follow-up. The winter schedule centers about the rural school, where the *agronome* teaches night classes for the young men, gives lessons in plant and animal life to children, and informal talks on Sundays and holidays to adults. With the aid of local teachers, he plans school gardens for the spring. He also promotes games, athletics, and social activities in an effort to inject a happier spirit into the sad little villages. He confers with individual farmers about the coming season's plans, makes suggestions as to better crops for family and market, and arranges for selected seed and equipment.

Summer is the time of back-breaking work under a hot sun and upon a neglected soil. The day begins before dawn. Demonstration gardens must be planted and tended and "home projects" (experiments in modern method) must be started with village boys and adult farmers. Clad in overalls, the college-trained *agronome* works in the fields beside his disciples from sun-up to sun-down.

Under the guidance of the American woman supervisor four day nurseries are operated in the summer to provide supervision for the babies of village mothers who must spend long days at work in the fields. Four home demonstration centers are also maintained to teach the rudiments of home making to village girls by providing instruction in simple cooking, cutting and making all kinds of garments, care of home and babies, and elementary nursing and first aid. Sunday classes for girls are held for those who are unable to attend week day classes, lessons in hygiene are given in the village schools, and village teachers are encouraged to include simple domestic subjects in their courses.

Each demonstration center is staffed by two Greek girls, a nurse and a home economics teacher.⁴ Much of the work, such as the building of the centers, and the various projects undertaken to improve the water supply and drain swampy land and stagnant pools necessary for malaria control, are the result of co-operative effort, the young Greek supervisor of health work and the nine *agronomes* supplying the guidance, and the villages the labor and materials.

It takes time to test a crop, plant an orchard, and change long-standing habits, but results have been gratifying. Demonstration centers have been established in every district and farmers see new methods tried out in school, church, village, and military post gardens. The work is done by the people themselves; by the children as part of their school work; by priests, often the best farmers in the village; by local farmers; and by soldiers stationed at nearby posts, most of whom will return to farm homes after their period of military service.

Crops grown under the *agronomes'* supervision are reported better than those of the surrounding areas. Children planted twenty-five acres

of fruit trees as one project. Sprays have been adopted which are saving the grape crop from a blight that had been very destructive. A dairy co-operative has been formed and safe milk supplied for city use. Farmers, at first skeptical, now admit the new ways are good business. Better farm practices are slowly but surely taking hold.⁵

A rural life conference, the first of its kind in the Near East, was held in Saloniki not long ago under the auspices of the foundation, and was attended by workers from each of our areas, by government officials, and by many representatives of other organizations interested in rural progress. A conference of village boys, also the first of its kind, was held, when the boys, each working on foundation projects, visited farm-schools and experiment stations near Saloniki and took part in an athletic meet, a unique experience for farm lads in that part of the world.

The foundation's staff has thrown itself enthusiastically into the spirit of the program and is showing a refreshing attitude towards manual labor. Greek officials claim the foundation has opened a new career for farm-school graduates, which for the first time makes effective use of their training in national farm problems.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How would you plan to select a number of villages for such a program? Will need be a major criterion? If so, what kind of need and how can you measure it? What attitudes in a village community indicate likelihood of successful operation?
2. Analyze the division of functions between the Americans and the Greek staff members employed for purposes of professional leadership and technical assistance to rural communities. Under what conditions does it seem desirable to employ a considerable proportion of nationals in positions of responsibility, as members of a field unit of a foreign service agency?
3. Discuss the training and preparation of Near East Foundation National Staff members for their work, both before and after placement. Compare this plan with a system whereby students would be exchanged internationally, with qualified Greeks sent to foreign training centers for specific preparation.
4. Develop an approximate operating budget for such a demonstration center, assuming that the salaries of the employed nationals can be estimated as half the cost of employment in a similar position in this country.
5. Compare the cost and effect of such a service-centered program with programs which are centered on commodity distribution. Do both types of programs require similar skills? Which type offers the best outlet for specialized qualifications?
6. Compare the program described with various American rural life programs. What methods are used in this country to help with the development of isolated or very poor rural communities?

III. Relocating Displaced People

A. Migration Services in Countries of Temporary Refuge

44. Backgrounds for Refugee Counseling: The Story of Suzanne; Armenia, 1920*

It is commonly accepted in social work that we should meet the client and start working with him on his own level. In international social services, but also in refugee-service in countries of temporary refuge, or of resettlement (for instance in this country) the agency worker is apt to meet many clients whose recent experiences have been of such a shattering and devastating nature, so utterly irreconcilable with our pattern of a polite and civilized world, that they experience great difficulty in fitting again into such a pattern and its smooth routine. The tasks of significance in ordinary living seem immaterial and unessential; social customs seem irrelevant. For a long time after reaching a port of relative security and normal living, the refugee will function in it with only a part of his being. The other part is still anchored in and crushed by the world from which he has fled, which may be a more real and more tangible world to him than his immediate surroundings, their requirements, responsibilities, and challenges.

The story of Suzanne, the Armenian refugee, is quoted from the personal narrative of Dr. Mabel Evelyn Elliott's experiences among Armenians, whom she has served as a friend and as a physician for many years.

"You must live through things like that to understand them," says Suzanne. This should not be true. The social worker in refugee service in this country, the American abroad in foreign service, eager to help internees, evacuees, refugees, and exiles of all kinds, may be able to develop a quick and sensitive understanding of vital implications in their past. Thus only will he really meet his clients on their present level and help them effectively to build up their future. Perhaps a careful study of Suzanne's story and of similar material, and analysis of its implications may help to develop such awareness.

"I think you don't like Armenians. But do you realize that what is bad in us comes from the life we've been forced to lead, and that what is good in us has survived in spite of it?"

Suzanne was one of the Near East Relief interpreters, and it was loyalty to her people that made her say "us," for she had no doubt whatever that we liked her. We liked her tremendously. Nor was it true that we disliked Armenians. It was more that there was something lacking in our liking them. Somehow our minds could never quite meet theirs;

*Adapted from Mabel Evelyn Elliott, *Beginning Again at Ararat* (New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1924), pp. 246-266. By permission of Fleming H. Revell, publishers.

there was always something oblique there—a starting from different angles. Somehow we never got quite close to them, not even to Suzanne.

"Were you ever a refugee, Suzanne?" I asked.

"Oh, yes," she said casually. "Twice. I was in Baku when the Turks took it, and I was in Kars when it fell. Let me see—about fourteen months, in all, I was a refugee."

She looked so pretty and so untroubled, sitting there in her smart blue suit and clever hat, her whole appearance was so much that of any American girl in her early twenties, who has never had anything to worry about, that her words seemed incredible.

"What was it like, when the Turks came to Baku?" I asked. The whole idle afternoon was before us. "Do you mind talking about it?"

"Why, no, not at all. Though you won't—I mean, I can't really tell you what it was like. You must live through things like that, to understand them.

"I'd just come home from school in Tiflis. That is, I had come to my uncle's house in Baku. My own people were Turkish Armenian, you know. My father was very modern in his ideas, he wanted his daughters to have the best European education.¹ My sister and I were in the university in Tiflis when the European war began. My father had sent us there because we had relatives in Tiflis—the family had branches and banks all through Armenia, from Baku to Aleppo. After we'd finished the university, we were going to Europe for post-graduate work.

"Well, then the war—of course we couldn't get back from Russia to Turkey. My father was killed by the Turks in 1915, and—you know what they did, in the deportations, to the women and children. Our little sisters may still be alive, in some Turkish house—we don't know—we've never heard—

"My sister and I went on with our university work in Tiflis all through the war. There was nothing else we could do. My sister had a year of nurse's training after she finished the university; she's a year older than I. Then we went to our uncle's house in Baku. We were going to be teachers.² Of course nothing was left to our father's property, and we didn't want to be dependent on our uncle; that was the fault of father's modern ideas, our uncle said.

"We came to his house in 1918, just before the Turks attacked Baku. The fighting went on for some time, but we did not have much news of it. Then we began to hear the firing, and lots of wounded were coming in. My sister went to work in the hospital, taking care of them. But every one said that the Turks could not take the city, that we were winning battle after battle. We were not really worried until one day—oh, God will punish them!—one day, without warning us, our Armenian leaders suddenly left the city.

"I was down town shopping—matching some silks, I remember—and I saw a friend of my uncle's in a carriage with his family, and the carriage full of baggage. I called to them and asked them where they were going. He laughed, and said he was going to Persia on business and taking the others for the trip. But I was worried. I told the coachman to drive straight home, and there was my uncle, and he said our armies were defeated and the Turks were coming. My aunt and cousins were crying, the servants were all running away, my uncle was trying to get some things packed and bundle up his papers—securities and things, and money. I went to the hospital to get my sister.

"I had to walk. All the servants were gone except the coachman that stayed to drive my uncle's family to the boat. There was no one to go with me, and my uncle commanded me not to go, but there was no one else to go for my sister and bring her to the boat. I had never been alone in the street before, of course, and—but American girls do walk alone, don't they? You would not know how I felt.³ Besides, the streets were full of people hurrying to the waterfront, and merchants were putting down their shutters. I could not find a carriage that was not loaded down with goods, going to the boats, and on the sidewalks people were dragging things, trunks on ropes, and bedding-rolls.

"Will you believe, when I got to the hospital, my sister wouldn't leave? She said it was her duty to stay with her patients. It was a senseless thing—what good could she do, staying? She couldn't protect them. Anyway, it wasn't my duty to stay, that wouldn't do any good, either. Things went around in my mind, that way. I told her we'd be killed for nothing, and there was the boat, and my uncle expecting us. I remember I actually shook her; I said she had to come. But she wouldn't and so—somehow, I don't know why—I didn't go either.

"We stayed in the hospital, and I helped her work. She showed me what to do. It was two days before the Turks came in. But all the boats got away that first morning. There were thousands of people on the waterfront, and more going all the time. The only way out of Baku was by the Caspian, no trains were running. And there were no boats on the Caspian, but some sort of crazy feeling made everybody go down and stay close by the water. All the important people had got away. If only they'd told us the truth, almost everybody could have gone. There were plenty of boats going and coming from Persia during all the weeks of fighting.

"Then the Turks came in, and began the looting and killing, and my sister and I ran away. We just simply ran out of Baku, on to the desert, and kept on going along the railroad tracks in the direction of Tiflis. There were not very many of us in our group, I suppose two or three hundred.

"We had brought some bread in a handkerchief, and my sister had a little money. It was all we had. Of course our clothes were perfectly

good at first, clean and whole. We walked three days and nights, all the time, just sitting down for a few minutes now and then. After that we went more slowly. We were tired, and some days we just sat, and didn't walk at all. It's strange what a difference it makes in your mind, being a refugee. Sleeping in your clothes, on the sand—and we hadn't brought a comb. That's the worst, when you are used to being clean—not having a place to wash, or a toothbrush, and your hair gets so-so awful. You become quite a different sort of person, in your mind, I mean.

"I told you that you would not understand, you couldn't. But being a refugee does things to you. Sometimes I hear Americans talking about Armenians stealing things. 'Here we come to help the Armenians,' they say, 'and we have to guard our goods to keep them from being stolen. Armenians are all thieves,' they say. Sometimes I have a mean feeling; I wish the people who say that were refugees for a while. They would understand, then. Things—anything you can imagine, a handkerchief, a pin—get to be so important. You can't dream how much they mean, until you have to live without them for days and weeks and months. Your character goes to pieces, too; you become just an animal. You live like an animal and eat like an animal, and you can't even keep yourself clean and healthy, as animals do. Human beings are so helpless without things.⁴

"We finally got to the Georgian border. We didn't have passports. But we speak Georgian so well that when we said we were Georgians nobody doubted it. We made up a story about how we came there and why we had no passports, and—of course, we had a little money for bribes—we got permission to go to Tiflis.⁵ There we found relatives. My sister went to work in the hospital, and I got a place in the high school, teaching."

"Why did you leave it to go to Kars? You'd have been safe in Tiflis."

"I did stay a year in Tiflis. But—we don't like the Georgians, you know. They aren't our own people. We've always been enemies.

"Then we had our own Republic, you know. We thought it would last. There were the Fourteen Points—we thought they were the basis of the Peace. We thought the Allies would keep their promises and help us. We'd only started, but we had good armies on the Georgian frontier and the Azerbaijan frontier, and we were already fighting the Turks—oh, we were so hopeful in those days! Of course I wanted to be helping. Especially with the schools, because you know Russia had never allowed us to have more than two grades in Armenian schools. There was an Armenian high school started in Kars, and I was given an opportunity to teach in it, so of course I took it. My brother was in prison there too,

"In prison? Your brother?"

"Yes. He's the only brother we have left. The Turks killed the other five.⁶ He was just a youngster, only sixteen, when the war began in Eu-

rope. He was in the Russian university in Baku. He was young, and easily influenced, I suppose, and of course university students—you know how idealistic they are, and always revolutionists. And the war cut him off from our father and from all of us—anyway, he became a Bolshevik. When the Bolsheviks succeeded in Petrograd, we couldn't do anything with him. He was just delirious with happiness; he thought all the troubles in the world were ended. Then we found out that he had been a member of the Communist party for several years, and you know the party discipline. He was ordered to Erivan for propaganda work. When it came to the choice, he gave up his family for the party. Our uncle was head of the family, since my father was killed, and he cut my brother out of it forever, disowned him, and read the burial service for him. It was terrible. We were never to speak of him or recognize him again.

"My sister never did, nor any one but myself. I don't know—he was so young, and the only brother we have left. I just couldn't. Everything is changed, anyway, since the war. All the old things are breaking up, even our patriarchal families. Perhaps it is wrong of me, perhaps there is something wicked and rebellious in me, too, as there was in him. Anyway, I meant to see him when I went to Kars. He had been circulating Communist propaganda and the Armenian government had caught him and he was sentenced to be shot. I kept thinking about how sweet he had been when he was a baby. I used to play with him when he was little, and sometimes the nurses let me take care of him out in our garden in the afternoons.

"When I got to Kars, all the political prisoners had been taken away. We did not know where, but we thought probably they had been executed. Everything was in confusion, for our army had been defeated and the Turks were coming to attack Kars. No one dreamed that it would fall; it was an impregnable fortress. We had huge supplies of munitions and plenty of food. We weren't afraid, but we were excited.

"I organized a sort of Red Cross for our soldiers. It was hard to interest the women, for Armenian women have never done such things, and they thought it was not proper. But I talked, and scolded, and shamed and browbeat them. When our men were fighting and dying, it did seem that Armenian women might be making bandages and collecting medicines and cigarettes for them. Almost every day a few of us went up to the fort to take something to the soldiers and to do what we could for the wounded. We wore our veils and were careful to be very dignified, not to smile or laugh at all, and in a little while the soldiers understood and were quite grateful to us. The school was open, though we didn't get much done. The guns began to fire that afternoon, and they kept firing for twenty-four hours. I was standing in the gateway of the school, listening to them, when I saw one of the officers driving past—driving the carriage himself, on the coachman's seat. His wife was in the carriage, and it was loaded with trunks and packages, and just as it

went past me a hatbox fell off. His wife stood up and said, 'Don't stop! Don't stop!' I called, 'Are the Turks coming?' The officer looked back at me and shouted, 'No, no! Kars is impregnable. Don't be alarmed.'⁷

"He was too far away then to say anything more. I just looked at that hatbox lying there in the street and went back into the school to get my hat and coat and make up a bundle. That time I remembered to take a comb and toothbrush, and underwear, and stockings. Before I got them together, crowds of parents were coming after their children. I thought I ought to do something, but everybody was hysterical, no one could listen, the place was like a madhouse. The guns had stopped firing. I thought we'd all have to go northward into Georgia again, for even if we held Alexandropol, the country would go unprotected. The trip would take a couple of months at least; it's hundreds of miles. When we got to the frontier, Georgia might be fighting Armenia. I must have money to bribe the officials at the frontier, to get a Georgian passport again.

"I'd left my money with a friend, so I went to her house. It was quite a large family, but the only man left in it was this woman's brother. They were packing their things; he had gone to try to get a carriage. She was very fat, so fat that she could hardly move, and she begged me to help her. So I helped her pack, and all the time she cried and begged me not to leave her, to go with her. But it took such a long time; even when her brother came with a carriage they couldn't decide anything, or seem to get anything done. The streets were full of people crying that the Turks were coming. At last I left. Perhaps I should have stayed with her. But they had filled the carriage with goods. And she was so fat, she couldn't really have gone away on her feet."

"Did you ever hear what became of her?"

"Oh, yes. When the Turks were really right there, they unloaded the carriage and she got away in it. Her brother stayed. He hid as much of the goods as he could, and barricaded himself in the house. But the Turks broke down the doors and killed him. His body was found there later, the house wrecked and almost everything in it gone. But he had had time to bury one box of money and jewels where the Turks had not found it. Afterward, when peace was signed with the Turks, she went back to Kars and got it. The last I heard of her, she was living in Kars and keeping a pastry shop. I don't think there has been a massacre since; she is probably there yet."

"And where did you go?"

"From the cries in the streets, I decided the Turks would catch us before we could get away. So I thought I would go to one of the American hospitals. I think there were three of them—Near East Relief hospitals, or perhaps they were orphanages. At least, American houses, under the American flag. They were in the little valley, between the town and the fortress. I went in that direction, and I saw an American woman

on horseback in the crowd. She was bringing in a convoy of ox-carts, with supplies. The people were so frantic, they were nearly pulling her to pieces, and she stood up in the stirrups and slashed at them with her whip, and kept on shouting orders to the men on the wagons. She was magnificent. You American women are really wonderful. You don't ever lose your heads, as we do, do you? You don't seem to have emotions. I suppose because you control them so well.

"I couldn't get to the American houses. Our soldiers were coming down the hill on the other side of the valley, and on the bridge they were meeting the crowds that were trying to get to the American flags. We could see the flags. But—I don't know whether any one was being killed in that jam on the bridge, but it looked as though they were, and the Turkish flag was on the fortress. So thousands of us turned and ran back into town.

"There was an Armenian hospital there. I knew the women in charge of it, so when I saw it I pounded on the gate until she let me in. She had a great many wounded Armenian soldiers there, and said she would not leave them. We knew the Turks would come. We kept going around in the wards, so that the men would see that we hadn't left them.

"Nothing happened for a long time. Of course we heard a great deal of shooting outside. Sometime in the night she had an idea. I speak French and English, you see, and she said that when the Turks came, I was to pretend that I was an American. Then they would not dare to do anything to us or the patients. I said I would try it, though I was afraid they wouldn't believe me. I don't look like an American, and besides, at that time my English wasn't as good as it is now. I knew that a Turk who knew English might recognize my Armenian accent. It was quite noticeable then. So I kept practicing the words I might have to use, saying them over and over to get the accent right.

"It was about ten o'clock next morning when we heard a pounding and shouting at the gate. We looked out, behind the shutters, and it was a naked man—entirely naked and covered with blood, beating at our gate and calling out in Armenian. We would not have dared let him in. But we did not have to decide, because we had hardly seen him when some Turkish soldiers came running around the corner and shot him. Then they stood and looked at the hospital. Of course our shutters were all closed. In a few minutes a Turkish officer came, and he looked too. He couldn't see us, but we felt he was looking straight at us, and we ran away from the window. Then we heard him pounding at the gates and shouting to us to open them.

"My friend said I must go out and speak to him. She dressed me in a white apron, and put a cloth with a Red Cross on my head. I don't remember that I was frightened; I was just stupefied, and all I could do was to listen to the Turks shouting. She had to move my arms as though I was a baby. The officer's voice was so cold—angry and cold.

"My friend shook me and slapped my face as hard as she could. She said if I did not go out, we would all be killed anyway. That did not make any impression on me, I didn't even remember it until afterward. Then she opened the shutters, and I stepped out on the balcony and said in French, 'What do you want? What do you mean, making all that noise? Don't you know there are sick people here?'

"The officer looked up at me. He looked surprised. He asked who I was, and I said, 'I am the American in charge of this hospital.' I tried to speak French with an American accent. I think God must have had us especially in His care that day, for that Turk did not speak English. He apologized in French for troubling me, but he said he must inspect the hospital.

"The officer was perfectly—perfectly—what is that word?—meek. He was perfectly meek. I have often thought since, it's just your air of expecting to be obeyed that gives you Americans all your power out here. Why, if I had really been an American woman, I would have been just as much alone as I was. Not a man in the place, except the sick patients. No one to protect me, really. Not even America, for America has never killed anybody when missionaries have been killed. It was just assuming that no one would dare to hurt me that protected me, just as it would have protected an American. Just because I gave orders, as though I must be obeyed, the orders were obeyed.

"I went down and opened the gate, and told the officer that three men were enough for him to bring in. I said I would not have more dirty feet spoiling my clean floors. He took three men, and ordered the others back, and I fastened the gates again. Then we took the officer through the hospital, and I went down with him to the gates and locked them behind him. He didn't do anything but ask if we could take in some wounded Turks. I said he would have to ask the American committee, as all our beds were full, but I thought it could be arranged.

"Of course we knew that as soon as the three days' looting was over, and the Turkish officers took control again, the hospital would be safe. Especially if the Turks had spoken about it to the Americans. And that was just what happened."

"But I thought you said you were a refugee from Kars. Do you mean that was being a refugee?"

"Goodness, no! Why, that—why, I was as clean as I am now, and sleeping under a roof. It was later I was a refugee."

"But why? Why didn't you stay in Kars if everything was safe?"

"I did stay, more than a week. Then—you see, I had a girl friend, an Armenian, about my own age. When it was safe to go on the streets again, I went to find her. Her family owned a sweetmeat shop, very nice, very modern—like the Tiflis shops. They were not exactly rich, but they had plenty of money, all they could use, and all the girls were well educated. When I went to look for them of course I went to the shop; I

knew the Turks would have taken their house. I found my friend and her mother living in the little back room behind the shop. Her father and brothers had got away safely. They were very happy about that, and happy to see me, and they gave me tea, and the Turk who had taken their shop sent us some bread and cakes.

"It was so nice that in a day or two I went to see them again. I had to go through the shop to get to their room, and of course I went quickly and held my veil across my face, but I thought the old Turk looked at me strangely. And this time my friend wasn't the same. I thought she seemed to be hiding some thought. But her mother made a great fuss over me, and petted me, and made me promise to come again the next day.

"The next day, when I went through the shop, there was a Turkish officer sitting there, drinking coffee, and he watched me. And my friend's mother was so demonstrative, kissing me, and praising me, saying how beautiful I was, and taking down my hair to admire it—I don't know—maybe it was all my imagination—but my friend looked pale. She said she had a headache. Anyway—when her mother spoke about what a rich husband I should have, and how with my talents and my education and my good looks I should marry some high person and have jewels and servants again—

"I didn't stay long. I put up my hair and doubled my veil across my face, and left. When I came through the shop, the officer was still there, and I felt that he and the old Turk had been talking about me. You know how you feel such things. So I went straight to the hospital and took my bundle and went quickly out with the refugees that were still going northward.

"Of course there may have been nothing in it. I hate to think that any Armenian woman—still, when you are desperate enough—and of course she had to think of her own daughter. She might even have persuaded herself that it would be better for me to marry a rich Turk than to be a refugee. They were there in that little back room, and they had nothing to eat but what the old Turk gave them. And again, there may have been nothing in it at all except my fancy. But I had that feeling—

"Anyway, I thought it best to get out of Kars very quickly. So I did."

I cannot express the poignancy and the unreality, together, of this story as Suzanne told it. Here for more than a week we had been talking every day to her, a pretty, well-bred girl, interested in hats and enjoying funny incidents, and suddenly she opened this vista of memories, all strange and dark and terrible. And how she took for granted things that our minds stumble over.

"I had to walk alone in the street," she said, as though no girl of twenty had ever walked alone in a day-lighted street. Yet, "Of course when the three days of looting and killing ended," she said, as we might

say "after luncheon." And "this time I had a comb and toothbrush," she said, quite cheerfully.

"I kept them all tied in the handkerchief with my money, inside my blouse. So it wasn't as bad as the first time, and there was plenty of water in the mountains, too. But we were much longer on the road. It was months before we reached Alexandropol. You see, the Turks were advancing, and there were skirmishing parties of them all through the country; we had to avoid these, and kept going miles out of our way."

"What did you have to eat?"

"Some people started with a little food, and some of them sometimes divided it. Then there were ox-carts, at first—and we ate the oxen. There weren't many people left in the country, because first the Armenians had driven out the Tartars, and now the Turks were driving out the Armenians. There was some stock, a few sheep and cattle and hens that had been left. There were birds. It wasn't the season for bird's eggs. There were some rabbits. And in some villages there was grain.

"Yes, we tore down the houses. We burned every scrap of wood we could find. We cut down grapevines, olive trees, anything. It was so cold. Even when we had fires, we couldn't all get close to them, and it was so cold the rest of us didn't sleep. I had a blanket when I started, but it was stolen. I don't blame whoever took it. I'd have stolen one myself if I could have. I don't think I would have stolen it from a baby or a sick person, but I would have from any one else.

"Of course there were times when we didn't eat at all. Other days when we found pine-cones—you know, the nuts in them. And acorns. They're bitter, but you're glad to get them.

"Lots of people died, of course, along the roads."

The shadows in her eyes, even to us who saw them from outside, were painful. We skipped to the end of the story. "How did you meet the Americans?"

"I was in one of the refugee camps in Alexandropol. There were about two thousand in that camp, and every day an American man came and gave us bread. When I had bread for a few days I began to think again, and I asked myself why I was sitting there when there was work to do.⁸ I thought I might help the man. So next day when I was going past him in the line, taking my piece of bread, I asked him if I couldn't help. He was so surprised. 'Hello! You speak English?' he said. 'Mission school? American orphan?'

"I told him no, I was a graduate of the Tiflis University, and that I knew French and German and Russian—and Georgian and Tartar and Turkish and Armenian, of course—and that if I could help him I would be glad, because I didn't like going idle all day. Yet there was nothing else to do, unless I could help the Americans. So he told me to go up to the offices, and I did, and they gave me a job as interpreter. They'd just got a shower-bath installed, and they let me have a bath—a warm bath,

with soap, and towels. And this is a funny thing—after all those months that I hadn't shed one tear, I stood in that warm water and cried like a baby. It seemed so wonderful.

"They gave me some things to wear, too. And a pair of the long-pointed shoes that Americans wear—I was so funny! I used to look down at myself and laugh and laugh. I would have loved to see myself in a mirror. But one of the girls in the workrooms lent me shears and a needle, and gave me yards of thread and I sewed at night, so in a little while I was quite presentable. It's surprising what talents you have without knowing it. I wouldn't have supposed that I could ever sew a seam. But now I'm a complete dressmaker and milliner. Don't you think this is a cunning hat? I made it myself."

It *was* a cunning hat. It also seemed to end the story, and as the mules had long been restless and the coachmen reproachful-eyed, and the sun was getting near the western mountains, we rose and prepared to return to Djalal-Oghly. We went careening across the empty plateau for some time before I remembered one thing Suzanne had left untold.

"Did you ever hear of your brother again?"

"Oh, yes. He's chief of the department of political education in Erivan. I had a letter from him only two months ago, and before that I had heard that he was alive. He was sentenced to death, but while the Turks were coming in he escaped. He was hiding in the mountains, in Zangazour, when I got to Alexandropol. When the Russian armies went to Erivan he came down and joined them, and when they took Erivan they made him a member of the government. He is studying English; he wrote to me in English. He said he was studying at night, trying to make up for not having been able to finish the university. But he said he is working so hard that he is too tired at night to keep awake. He wouldn't give up his work not even for an education. He's so enthusiastic about the new government."⁹

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How may the refugee's "civilian" background affect his ability to cope with the refugee situation? Are there different degrees of preparedness for such an experience? Do they relate to age levels, types of training, work experience?
2. Observe the role of studies and academic training as a substitute for normal work during periods of temporary asylum and waiting.
3. Discuss the problems of the change in culture pattern when a refugee takes up temporary or permanent residence within a different culture. How much help is he likely to receive in learning about the conflicts in culture patterns which make his adjustment difficult? Is quick assimilation possible and desirable?
4. How may material losses affect a person's sense of values, e. g., in regard to the balance of his property or to new possessions which he urgently requires? Explore some implications of this when related to relief situations.

5. If the refugee can frequently protect his own and the very life and the welfare of those dependent on him only by using the weapons of deceit, bribery, subterfuge, how does this affect his sense of moral values after a return to a more normal community?

6. Does the loss of near relatives and close friends affect the character of his relationship to those who survive?

7. Although he cannot see any clear goals or make any valid preparations for increasing his safety or giving his flight a more constructive direction, the refugee has frequently learned from his own and his neighbor's experience the importance of resourcefulness, self-reliance, good judgment, and quick decisions. He has also felt or observed the effects of misinformation, depriving him of important opportunities for improving his conditions. Do these experiences make him more able and ready to use counseling and to co-operate freely with his counselors? How can the counselor meet this attitude and develop the habit of co-operation?

8. Discuss the effects of malnutrition, hunger, and physical exhaustion upon the ability to plan and manage. Can you expect exhausted people to show a reasonable degree of initiative and desire for self-help and independence? How can relief workers meet this situation?

9. How can workers help some people as part of a rehabilitation service to find a new and valid motivation for carrying on? Can the loss of traditional loyalties and objectives be compensated? How can you help people in rebuilding their lives to find new goals worthy of identification and of concentrated effort.

45. Child Migration—First Steps; France, 1941*

We first heard about a chance for large scale emigration for our refugee children in December, 1940. They had no permission to stay permanently in France, where in many cases their parents were interned in camps, and it was necessary to find another homeland for the children, hoping to reunite them with their parents after the war if still alive.¹

For five weeks a small emigration commission, including a doctor and members of several agencies interested in the children, went around in the western part of the non-occupied zone and looked at all the foreign refugee children.

The choice of the children was very difficult to make. Almost without exception they were intelligent, attractive in appearance, well brought up, adaptable in character—a remarkable thing when one thinks of what they had been through: first, six months to two years of the hard and demoralizing life in the camps; and now, this cruel separation from their parents. It was sometimes difficult for us to control our emotions, as in the case of the little man of eight, with large sad blue eyes, who presented himself to us: "My name is Michel, and here is my *dossier*, and there is the key to my suitcase. . . ." He showed us a big *dossier* filled with the emigration documents of his parents, all in order (but that had not prevented their deportation) and a little key tied to a string around his neck. We found ourselves facing a little girl of twelve and her brother of two-and-a-half. Their parents had been deported from Tours and the two children had crossed the line with a kindly French person who had placed them in a children's colony. "Chaja" was so convinced of her responsibility for the raising of her little brother that the first thing she wanted was to learn a trade so that she could take care of him. The director, an understanding person, put her in the workshop where they were working on leather. The baby, unconscious of all that was going on around him, was like a little sunbeam, but when anything went wrong he never cried "Mama," but always, "Chaja, Chaja."

One thousand children were selected, five hundred of whom for immediate departure. In March we received a complete plan from our home agency in the United States from which we could start to work—the plan for a blanket affidavit for one hundred children only. Unfortunately, the cable spoke of a blanket visa, which set us off on the wrong track. We had already prepared the questionnaires for applicants, starting on this task immediately when we got the first news of the expected opportunity in December, 1940. Plans were also made as early as January for the *visa de sortie*. (This *visa de sortie* was delivered within a few

*Adapted from an unpublished report of a field worker to the American Friends Service Committee, June, 1941. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

minutes when we finally asked for it.)² To the pile of questionnaires which we had accumulated from the beginning of January were added those filled out late in March by three other groups. From the total pile we selected one hundred children.³

On May 1st it was reported by Lisbon that the entire hundred might possibly sail on a Hicem ship at the end of May. By the middle of May the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee reported to us that the reservations had to be made in the names of the specific children who were to go, and that they had to be made by a date well in advance of their arrival in Lisbon. We were constantly reminded that no substitutions could be made after the first list of children was submitted. This led to no end of complications, for when the list was sent for boat reservations we were not yet certain whether all could pass the physical examination by the doctors of the American consulate, nor whether all could obtain visas.

At the last minute we learned that a blanket visa was out of the question, and that visas would have to fall within the quota.⁴ As late as May 19th, only eighty-seven German numbers had been set aside instead of ninety-six and there were no available Polish numbers for four Polish children in the group. Not until May 24th were we advised that ninety-six German visas were available and that four Polish numbers had been secured. The net result of our inability to make substitutions was a delay in the sending of the list for the Portuguese visas. The delay in the receipt of the visas in Marseilles almost prevented the sailing of the whole group.

The children were prepared for emigration in the following manner: Monday May 19th, seventy-five children reported to the Co-operative Club in Marseilles, and by May 23rd the remaining twenty-five children arrived. As we knew that the granting and preparing of one hundred regular visas requires no less than twenty-four hours work, four members of the office force were transferred immediately to the Co-operative Club, with the result that in less than 48 hours the children were medically examined and finger-printed and the consular forms filled in. The lists were also put in final shape, along with two sets of folders containing the full social and medical histories of every child. The first set was air-mailed to the United States and the second set handed to the escorts in charge of the group, to be delivered in New York on arrival.⁵

On May 27th we were informed that the boat upon which the children were to leave was to sail on June 7th rather than June 10th. This meant the children would have to leave Marseilles on Saturday May 31st, as they would have to be in Lisbon not later than June 3rd. The authorization for Portuguese visas did not reach Marseilles until May 27th. After a three hour conversation with the Portuguese consul, we got him to agree to visa five group passports which we were to have printed for

the children. We went immediately to the printer, and by five o'clock on May 27th the passports were ready. That evening, Tuesday, we filled out the names in the passports, and on Wednesday morning had the children form queues in front of all available photomatons to get the necessary photographs. By one o'clock Wednesday afternoon the passports were all ready, but when they were presented to the Portuguese consulate, the consul insisted that the pictures be stapled in. No stapling apparatus was to be found; they had to be attached by hand and three valuable hours were lost.

When the passports were taken to the Portuguese consulate Wednesday evening, we were told that since the consulate was closed all day Thursday and open only half a day on Saturday, the passports would not be ready until the following Tuesday, the day the children were supposed to arrive in Lisbon. On Thursday we arranged a conference with the Spanish consul, but since we were not able to take the passports with the Portuguese visas already attached, the Spanish consul refused to begin the visaing. That meant that on Friday morning, the 30th, the Portuguese and Spanish visas and the *visa de sortie* had not been obtained.

In one last effort we sent five persons to the Portuguese consulate on Friday morning, including two secretaries equipped with typewriters to give assistance if and when needed. By eleven o'clock, after a supreme effort, the Portuguese visas were ready. The passports were immediately taken to the Spanish consul, who refused our offers of assistance and said he would consider visaing a group passport only if the American consulate would put a signature and seal to each group passport. Otherwise, he would have to visa one hundred separate passports, which he promised to have done by Wednesday of the following week.

We went immediately to the American consul general, who kindly wrote on the back of each of the passports we had had made: "Ce document tient lieu d'un passeport." He then signed each document and attached the consular seal. At two p.m. we penetrated the Spanish consulate, and by four p.m., after having provided the proper diplomatic lubrication in the form of a promise of chocolate bars for the clerks, the Spanish visas were ready. At five o'clock the *visas de sortie* had been placed in the collective passports, and by nine in the evening we had assembled all the children in the two special coaches waiting for them in the station. At five the next morning we drove down to see the children off, and found that some of them had slept in the baggage racks. The rest, amply provided with blankets, had slept comfortably on the seats and the floor. They pulled out of the station at six o'clock.

Reports have come to us that the trip all the way through to Lisbon was very satisfactory. There was a touching moment at Oleron, where the coaches stopped and some of the children were able to see their parents who were still interned in Camp Gurs. The Commandant of the

Camp had placed at their disposition a *camion* to take them to the station to have a glimpse of their children, possibly for the last time.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Are there any international agreements which facilitate the immigration of children in need of special protection? In drawing up such an agreement, what principles would you include, in view of the many tragic experiences of this war?
2. What is the meaning of the terms *affidavit*, *quota*, *visa*, *visa de sortie*, as used in immigration procedure? What source of information regarding American regulations would you use?
3. What considerations should guide the selection of children for emigration when there are many more who wish to go than there are openings? Discuss the relative importance of age, health, physical appearance, behaviour, intelligence, etc. To what extent does the consideration of these criteria depend upon the character of the receiving country?
4. Study the background of the present quota system. What is the basis of each national quota? Study the use of each quota over a period of time.
5. What is the United States Committee for the Care of European children? How is it organized and financed? What services have been rendered by this committee?
6. Could any of the difficulties described in the record have been anticipated and possibly met by different planning? Outline some steps which might have been taken to ease the entire process.

46. Friends of the Stateless; Spain, 1943*

The approximate 12,000 to 18,000 refugees in Spain present in miniature many of the problems of care which will be met on so vast a scale at the close of the war. Fleeing from occupied Europe, most of the men and women who have sought haven in Spain are without money, without identifying papers, and with only the clothing on their backs. Ignorant of the laws of the country in which they have sought haven, they inevitably become involved in infractions of regulations designed for quite different situations. The first unhappy stopping place of these harried newcomers is the prison or internment camp.

The relief office of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and the American Friends Service Committee in Madrid, established in January, 1943, is concerned primarily with arrangements for the release of these refugees from prisons and camps, and their departure from Spain. This office is under the direction of two American representatives sent abroad under joint sponsorship of the Brethren Service Committee and the American Friends Service Committee. Its services are directed specifically to representation for those individuals who are stateless and do not have the same opportunities for appealing to their diplomatic representatives which are available to others. These persons include nationals of occupied countries who have no representatives in Spain; persons who reject their legal nationality and do not wish to place themselves at the disposition of the authorities who represent in Spain their country of origin; and those who have been deprived of their nationality because of racial laws.¹ All these stateless persons are technically under the care of the Spanish Red Cross.²

In caring for the interests of these newcomers in their relations with Spanish and foreign authorities, the Madrid relief office provides a variety of services. These include: (1) financial assistance; (2) payment of money transfers sent from the United States by persons or organizations to specific individuals in Spain; (3) counseling on general refugee and immigration questions; (4) arrangement for migration of children to the United States under the auspices of the United States Committee for the Care of European Children; (5) assistance in arranging for the release of refugees in camps and prisons; (6) help in communicating with friends and relatives abroad; (7) medical care where possible; and (8) attempts at a solution for the general refugee situation in Spain.

One of the first tasks of the Madrid relief office has been to arrange for the release of internees from prisons and internment camps. Technically, when an application for freedom is granted, the refugee is "lib-

*Adapted from American Friends Service Committee, *General Relief Bulletin*, Bulletin No. 8, (October 8, 1943). By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

erated," but he can be freed only when the conditions of his release have been fulfilled. To effect his release it is necessary for his diplomatic representatives to visit the camp and assume responsibility for his departure from Spain. Representatives of the Madrid relief office act for the stateless in this capacity.³ It is usually possible to arrange for temporary release to enable the individual to make his personal applications at the consulate and to complete arrangements for leaving the country. Release from camp is granted only to facilitate departure from Spain. This departure is obligatory.

For the men who must wait in camp for liberation and release, some assistance is essential. This may be in the form of financial grants for food supplements, transmittal of requests for funds to friends and relatives abroad, location of personal documents, conference with a consulate regarding an immigration visa which has expired. Frequently the refugee appeals for assistance for a friend in another internment place.⁴

During the period between his release from prison or camp and his departure, the individual refugee needs emergency help. He must have money to provide food and lodging. Often he is seriously debilitated from his long residence in internment camps in Germany, France, and Spain, and needs medical and dental care. His clothing is usually threadbare. There is little clothing for sale, and that little is expensive. The large shipment of clothing which the A.F.S.C. is sending from the United States to Spain this month will meet an acute need.⁵

The rare refugee who has been able to bring a little money into Spain finds himself in difficulty. Regulations governing the import and export of currency are unusually strict. Because of his illegal entry he has not declared it at the point of entrance. Spanish authorities do recognize, however, that in many cases there is no attempt to deceive the authorities. The breaking of the monetary regulations is an unavoidable consequence of having crossed the frontier illegally. Yet the innocent infraction must be cleared as part of the refugee's preparation for departure.

Spanish laws affecting the refugee rest on the presumption that he will be supported by a consulate or diplomatic representative. Any application to regularize his status, to obtain a ration card or exit visa, or to arrange his journey, must be accompanied by a letter from his diplomatic representative. Stateless persons are without such support. As mutual confidence has developed between the Madrid relief office and Spanish authorities, there has been increasing recognition by Spanish officials that the American relief committees shall represent the stateless individual in much the way that diplomatic groups sponsor their own nationals. This has been particularly important in connection with applications for exit permits.

The fact that so many stateless persons have no papers to prove either their identity or original nationality has been a serious handicap to arrangements for departure even when the individual has the assur-

ance of a destination visa. Consular officials of a few countries are, after an examination, willing to stamp the visa on travel papers which they, themselves, prepare. Many governments, however, will not authorize the granting of visas, even after formal approval, unless some other authority will first provide identification papers. Formerly, Spanish authorities issued a special stateless passport, but discontinued this because they felt they had insufficient evidence of identity to justify such documents. It has now been arranged for the Madrid relief office to prepare certificates of identity together with proof that a destination visa is available. On presentation of this certification, Spanish officials issue the necessary travel documents.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How does the loss of citizenship—statelessness—affect the economic, legal, and social status of a person?
2. Why should a special service for the stateless be needed, since they are technically under the care of the Spanish Red Cross acting on behalf of the International Red Cross?
3. Are there any provisions for the official representation of stateless persons residing in a foreign country? Investigate the methods for the protection of other stateless groups after World War I.
4. Discuss desirable qualifications and services for a foreign worker who will serve regularly as a connecting link between the outside world and an interned group. How can he prepare for such a task so that he will give the best possible service to many suffering people wholly dependent on his effective understanding?
5. In order to protect internees released from camp or prison, but not yet able to leave the country, some collective arrangements can be of great service. Plan some forms of sheltered living and of physical and spiritual rehabilitation as first aid measures.
6. How have other stateless persons been provided with travel documents and a valid identification paper? Explore the history, use, and limitations of the Nansen certificate. Can it be obtained now?

47. Counsel and Assistance at a Half-Way Station; Lisbon, 1942*

Since the outbreak of the war Lisbon has become increasingly important as a temporary refuge for many people in transit who escaped from danger and persecution. They represent many different countries, different needs, and different backgrounds; however, they all have one need in common: to proceed as quickly as possible to some other country where they will be secure and welcome. Portugal can offer them only temporary protection as a half-way station but will not allow them to settle. Such half-way stations—which may easily become dead ends—can be found all around the world. After the last war Constantinople and Vladivostok were of tragic importance in this respect; more recently, Shanghai.

Such communities need strong service centers to meet the plight of dislocated people caught by an unkind fate. The following excerpts from the personal journals of service workers illustrate the diversity of contacts and the range of problems met within a few days.

Interview with a Polish Jewish refugee living in Caldas, the refugee camp outside Lisbon, who wanted to get her three-year-old niece from unoccupied France before the family is taken to Poland. The family has ample money to pay all traveling expenses and to adopt the child if some way can be arranged to bring her to Portugal. This is not the first of such cases. Thoroughly discussed the problem but saw no way for the moment.

Interview with a refugee just arrived from France, who wonders how we can help his wife to join him. As they have two small children, his wife could not come the same dangerous way he had come. Took down the details and agreed to cable Toulouse, our nearest office, and ask them to counsel the wife on how to join her husband.

Interview with a Hungarian refugee who had a letter to be mailed but had no money for postage. Granted postage.

Interview with French family, referred by Free French representative here, concerning money transfer sent from Beirut, Syria, to Marseilles, presumably via London, but not yet received. Discussed the question and agreed to cable Marseilles and to discuss with associates question of cabling London transfer department about the matter.

Short discussion with Mrs. Abbott and Mr. Hunter, of our staff, concerning purchase of knitting wool for Caldas refugee women. Hunter

*Adapted from unpublished reports of three workers in the American Friends Service Committee Office in Lisbon, from the A.F.S.C. files in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Names of refugees and workers have been changed throughout the record. By permission of American Friends Service Committee.

reports more than a dozen women working on wool taken out on my last trip there. Part of the products are to go to poor Portuguese children, part to the Caldas camp, which is cold and windy in winter.¹

Interview with young ex-German refugee awaiting passage to England, who inquired if any news had come in from London for him. A friend of his is working on his case through the Quaker office at Bloomsbury House. Lent him a *Reader's Digest* to help his English, already quite good.²

Discussion with Mr. Conrad, of our office, concerning case of woman with children in France who had gotten her children into a nasty predicament because of panicky action. May be able to straighten them out.

Interview with Mrs. Sylvia de Martinette, Argentine widow of French engineer lost during the last days of the collapse of France. She is stranded here with six children for whom we have been giving some supplementary help and trying to arrange for her repatriation. This seems possible at last, but as Argentine ships have suspended sailings she must reach South America some other way. Agreed to see Argentine consul and shipping agency, and also to cable Philadelphia for additional financial help for them.³

Interview with Evelyn Levin, a refugee, who had just finished knitting a pull-over sweater for our chief, Mr. Conrad. She was a bit nervous working for such an august personage and was very much relieved to deliver it at last. Mr. Conrad gave her a card thanking her for the excellent sweater. It may help her to get more orders.

Interview with Meyer Blumberg, who is still awaiting his visa for Brazil. Showed me a letter from his sponsor, a Brazilian-Portuguese industrialist with large interests in Brazil, who is now in Washington as a result of Brazil's entrance into the war. Blumberg and his friend, Edelmann, have work contracts with this man.⁴

Interview with Mrs. Jose Paranhos, a Dutch woman who married a Portuguese sailor. He probably died in the United States, but she has no documentary evidence of it. She is in great material need and can get no help from the authorities as she has lost her nationality. Agreed to contact the shipping agency in New York and try to obtain the necessary documents proving her a widow, so that she can recover her Dutch nationality.

Interview with Mrs. Behnecke-Kornstadt, an old Austrian lady whose daughter, son-in-law, granddaughter, and granddaughter's fiancé

are trapped in France. They escaped from deportation by buying French papers and are now unable to get papers for their American visas. She is all alone here in Lisbon and is very grateful to have a door where she may knock for counsel and moral backing.

Interview with Boris Moscowski, a young Polish chap who is in trouble again. Succeeded in getting him in contact with his own consul and am hopeful he can get clearance for England soon.

Attended an informal "Musical Evening" at Miss Jane Snowden's, where Mrs. Constantine Leontovich, Russian composer and musician, played.⁵ She and her family are in forced residence at Caldas, but we are hoping they can get to America where she has friends.

Interview with Mr. Fontaine, who wanted counsel on how to help a friend of his, now in Spain, who had been deported from Lyons without a passport, as that document was in occupied France.

Interview with Paul Kahn and his wife; worked out wording of cablegram to Argentina, to well-placed friend, urging personal intervention in favor of their visa. This was sent on the advice of the Argentine consul here. Also accepted letter for mailing to same friend explaining the problem more in detail. Mr. Kahn is a lawyer with a bad case of stomach ulcers,⁶ whose wife teaches English and French at Caldas to help their tiny budget.

Visit to the International Police for information and discussion about Angola visas and other matters.

Visit to the shipping company about the *S. S. Serpa Pinto*, which is probably not going to Cuba after all, disappointing the Cuban boys in prison, who are longing so for repatriation.

Interview with U. S. consul concerning the case of a man who came to the office yesterday. His mother had been drawing pension checks on his deceased father, who had fought in the Civil War. He had asked for an advance with future payments of his father's pension as security. The consul did not feel chances were good for those checks coming again until after the war.

Jumped again into the task of forwarding letters. More and more people are calling on our help to get letters to their relatives and friends as much time is saved by re-forwarding through Lisbon.⁷

Called on the Mexican Minister for news concerning visas for several urgent Spanish cases we are helping.

Interview with Sylvia Rutberg, German refugee, who has a bad case of nephritis. She receives a supplement from us to help her living expenses, but it is not enough for medicines, doctors, and treatments.

Interview with Mrs. Gustafson to collect 700 *escudos* for her husband, herself, and her child. This is a complicated case of having divorce proceedings in Sweden recognized in Portugal so that the couple may marry here. The documents are not all in, and every time we turn around something more seems to be required.

Called on a friend in the International Police for counsel on how to secure a time extension for two of our Spanish friends, an engineer and his wife, who are in prison threatened with deportation unless they leave the country within twelve days. Deportation would mean forced labor or possibly death.⁸

Interview with Mrs. Alan Harvey, wife of a British correspondent, who is stranded here with two children and wants to join her husband in America. He had been suddenly transferred from Lisbon several months before and finds that maintenance funds cannot be transferred from England to America. Could a home and position be found for her in America? She is in immediate need of an opportunity to take her mind off the war and to do something constructive.

Interview with German refugee asking counsel and assistance for a friend in Spain who escaped death from shipwreck off the coast of Rhodes at the time of the Italian-Greek war, and now wants to get to England.

Interview with a Dutch citizen on the best approach to get a visa for the Dutch West Indies for two "danger cases."

Interview with the head of the Austrian refugee group here in Lisbon, who wants to get visas for his wife and himself for England to join their son who has been there for four years.⁹ There is a strong possibility of getting a Cuban visa, although they would prefer England.

Visit to the Polish Red Cross to inquire how to locate someone sent from Germany to Poland in recent months. Was told that the only organization able to locate people there was the International Red Cross Committee at Geneva.

Interview with Mrs. Lina Haber, who wants to join her family in England. She arrived in Lisbon recently from Marseilles on a Portuguese transit visa which was arranged through the Belgian legation.

Interview with Mr. Raymond Razovsky, a Polish Jew who became a French citizen in 1925 and practiced law in Paris until the German occupation. He wants us to inquire concerning the progress of his visa application in Washington. We do not ordinarily cable such requests, but have done so in one or two cases to ease the mind of the client.

Interview with Mr. Feldmann concerning the results of our efforts to get others than Poles in the group going to Jamaica. He and his wife and child have been here over a year with no visa.¹⁰

Interview with Miss Mendelsohn concerning her mother and herself. They are part of a group of forty German Jews who came from Berlin expecting to have Cuban transit visas awaiting them. Unfortunately, the visas have not yet come through, three months later, and there seems no other way to their destinations, which are Central and South American countries. In the meantime several destination visas have already expired and these cases present a very difficult problem.

Interview with Emil Gorgei, a fifty-year-old Hungarian-born interior decorator and laundry soap manufacturer, who had been working in Paris when the war came. He is a versatile person and has been making himself useful at the British Embassy, but now it is time for him to get out. He wants to go to Cuba.

Interview with David Denschler, a young Polish Jew, who has been living here with his brother Jacob for over a year. They lived in France most of their lives and had become engaged to two French Catholic girls, who had followed them to Lisbon only to be jailed for lack of visas. Later the girls were sent to the refugee colony at Caldas while the boys were placed in a group of Polish Jews being sent to Jamaica. The girls can obtain visas for England, but only marriage can get them included in the Jamaican group. This is very difficult and time is short. We are trying to do what we can. . . . Boys sailed for Jamaica January 25. We'll try to arrange a proxy marriage, and send the girls on a later boat.

Interview with Mrs. Rosa Schwartz, who is trying to obtain the necessary visas for herself and her daughter to get to the United States. She reached Portugal apparently by the mistake of the Portuguese consul at Marseilles, who was annoyed at the action of his Spanish colleagues, for she arrived with a residence visa—not a transit visa.

Interview with Madam Fouka, an Egyptian lady, who has been trying to get to South or North America with two friends of hers, who are Dutch refugees. Her ordinary sources of income have been cut off by the war and she knows no one in Lisbon.

Interview with Henry Halecki, a young Polish boy who is here with his father, mother, and sister. Another sister is still in Poland. They have been scraping along, working for the Polish Committee in one way or another. Have we done some good by offering a sympathetic ear to their attempts to get to the Argentine?

Interview with Jaime Olivera, a young Honduran who has been in prison for eight months because of insufficient documentation.¹¹ Since Honduras has no official representative in Portugal, he was referred to us by the American consul. He came with a police guard to receive a check sent by his father, a Venezuelan citizen and a naturalized Spaniard. We are trying to negotiate the check so that he can obtain passage money, and also to obtain a transit visa for the United States for him through the American consul.¹²

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Suggest other types of employment for the refugee women at the Caldas Camp which will require little preparation.
2. How could the refugees preparing for emigration overseas be helped to use the enforced leisure in Lisbon in a constructive manner? Plan a service to meet the needs referred to in the record.
3. Would you agree to the worker's plan to see the Argentine consul instead of having Mrs. de Martinette see him personally? What are the advantages and disadvantages of such mediation?
4. Does the United States immigration law permit work contracts for prospective immigrants? How do United States regulations in regard to work contracts compare with regulations for immigrants to other countries, e.g. to Latin American states?
5. Discuss the significance of the informal musical evening where interned refugees are meeting with other residents of Lisbon. Would it be useful to encourage the development of a number of such small centers of hospitality? What points of contact can the foreign service worker use?
6. The record refers repeatedly to illness of refugees. What plans can be worked out to provide group care free or at a low cost if the local medical services are not available to the refugee group?
7. What problems may arise from the relief worker's readiness to forward letters on behalf of his clients? Should this service be questioned by his superiors?
8. What has been the practice of deportation in regard to nationals persecuted by their own government, and in regard to stateless people: (a) in the United States; (b) in other countries for which you have information?

9. How do immigration laws and policies of different countries protect the concept of family unity?
10. How do people stranded in a half-way station discover countries which may accept them as immigrants? Discuss their situation, assuming: (a) that they have slight personal contacts in some distant country but have had no response to earlier letters; and (b) that they have no contacts whatsoever.
11. It is quite likely in many countries of temporary refuge that aliens and stateless people will be held in prison because of insufficient documentation or because they lack residence permits. How can the worker find such prisoners and how can he make it known to them that he is available for various services? Outline some services which they may need in such a situation.
12. Note the different types of requests presented in the various interviews. Try to clarify them by classifying all the interviews in this record. How would you plan to meet these needs?

48. Liberation of Political Prisoners and Refugees; North Africa, 1943*

On June 24, 1943, the Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees reported to the press at Algiers that according to its records all persons who were interned in concentration camps, incorporated into work companies, or whose residence was confined to restricted areas in French North and West Africa before November 8, 1942, had been liberated. The following document presents the substance of the commission's report.

This commission was set up in January, under the joint chairmanship of the United States and British consuls general in Algiers, to assist in the release, relief, and repatriation of these prisoners and refugees.¹ The liberation has proceeded in orderly manner over the past few months, as swiftly as military security investigations and the making of arrangements for maintenance of internees after their release would permit. Today's report marked the climax of months of effort, involving close co-operation between British, American, and French authorities, for the solution of a complex problem.

Special local assistance in the manifold details pertaining to the gradual liquidation of the internment camps was provided by a field party of the commission, which visited the camps several times.² The field party included representatives of the United States and British consuls general, the French High Command, the Public Welfare and Relief Division of the North African Economic Board (this division is the operating agency in North Africa of the United States Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations), and the International Red Cross.

The commission also reported that all those who were released from work companies on February 12, 1943, given the status of civilian workers at current wage rates, employed by the Mediterranean Niger Railway or the coal mines of Kenadaa, and whose residence was restricted to the area in which they worked, have been given complete liberty to leave this region and accept work where they wish.³ With the exception of a few individuals who, of their own free will, signed contracts with one or the other of these companies and prefer to remain, all the former internees and members of work companies have left this region.

The former internees, members of work companies and persons in forced residence, have all been provided with useful occupations of their own choice.⁴ A large number have signed contracts for work as civilian employees with the American armed forces. They are employed in various capacities, are paid at current wage rates for the types of work they do, and are not organized in any military formations. Another large

*Adapted from "Liberation of Political Prisoners and Refugees in Africa," *The Department of State Bulletin*, VIII (June 26, 1943), 589-590. By permission of Department of State.

group have joined the British pioneer battalions, a noncombatant labor unit of the British army, in which they receive the pay, rations, and quarters of British soldiers. A considerable number have been absorbed into local industry in employment of their own choice.

The situation of the Spanish Republican refugees who have signified their desire to proceed to Mexico presented a serious problem, since the internment camps and work companies have been totally liquidated and definite arrangements regarding their departure for Mexico have not been completed. This problem was resolved through the excellent co-operation of the American Army which agreed to employ them under work contracts with the understanding that the contracts would terminate when arrangements were made for their transportation to Mexico.

In addition to assisting in the liberation of all persons from internment camps and work companies, the Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees obtained from the French authorities an agreement that on the presentation of a contract of employment either with the American Army or private industry, identity and ration cards would be immediately issued. This provision is especially important, since it legalizes the civil status of persons released from camps who arrived at Casablanca, Oran, and Algiers to begin work. Many of them were given assistance in finding living accommodations.⁵

During the visits to internment camps the field party of the Joint Commission for Political Prisoners and Refugees also visited prisons in which political prisoners were confined. There are now in prison approximately two hundred foreign refugees who, although they have been duly sentenced by courts, should be considered as political prisoners since the offenses consist chiefly of infractions of discipline in internment camps or political demonstrations involving violence. The greater part of these prisoners are Spanish Republican refugees. The French authorities agreed to liberate from prisons all Spanish Republican refugees for the purpose of proceeding to Mexico. The Joint Commission suggested, however, that these prisoners should be liberated and allowed to make their own dispositions.

A number of refugees were discovered to be sick or otherwise disabled and for these rest camps were established where proper food and medical care can be provided until strength is restored or other suitable disposition is made of their cases.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What are the possibilities of repatriation for the people described in the record? If they can not be repatriated, how can they be relocated?
2. Discuss the composition and function of the field party of the commission. Would similar visits to the internment camps have been useful at an earlier date?

3. What are the characteristics of the work companies as described? How do they differ from the forced employment of labor in the countries occupied by Germany?
4. Plan a temporary employment service to provide for aliens and other displaced people about to be released from a camp. What specific factors will affect their chances for employment in such a situation?
5. Observe and discuss the various steps of the Joint Commission in legalizing the status of the former internees. Will the pattern developed in North Africa have general applicability in dealing with similar groups at the end of the war?
6. Discuss the organization of a rehabilitation camp: (a) with regard to physical needs; (b) with regard to emotional and psychological needs of internees.

B. Repatriation

49. Refugee Children Return Home; Poland, 1922*

A few weeks ago I made a trip from Warsaw to Baranovice and beyond to the Bolshevik frontier point of Kolosowo. It is through here that two hundred thousand returning refugees have passed over during the past year.¹ The trains, consisting of strings of the Russian wide gauge freight cars drawn by wheezing wood burning locomotives, pull in on one track. The people arriving in the Russian cars, together with what possessions they may have been able to save, are bundled from that train into the Polish freight cars on an adjoining track of the standard European gauge. When the American Relief Administration first began to operate in Kolosowo, there was not an inhabitant in the town, and the country, as far as one can see, is a wild bleak prairie. The starving refugees arriving at this point were barely able to move from the Russian cars to the Polish freight cars.² There were no buildings about, but our nearest local office quickly erected a tent furnished by the American Red Cross. Within a few days an American Relief Administration kitchen here was feeding an average of five hundred children a day during the time of transfer of the refugees from one train to another.³

The evening that I reached the kitchen, it was about nine o'clock. Filled with mothers and children, the kitchen was running full blast. Our Polish manager, who accompanied us from Baranovice to Kolosowo, informed me that it was operated regularly twenty-four hours a day, as refugee trains came in all hours through the day and night.

Looking over the youngsters eating in this tent, one might readily see the story of hardships through which they had passed in recent months. Mothers coming from such points as Samara and Kazan in Russia told us that they had been en route in freight cars anywhere from six weeks to three months. Along the way they received practically nothing to eat with the exception of the little they were able to obtain by disposing of their possessions.⁴ With their arrival in Kolosowo, the children have their first real meal in months.

At various points along the frontier, there are now eight special kitchens operating for refugee children only. Besides these, regular kitchens in the east are furnished extra portions so as to be able to feed needy refugee children who may pass in wagons or on foot.⁵ When the refugee child arrives at his village or destination, he is there immediately enrolled in the local American kitchen. In this way, the child receives

*Adapted from Maurice Pate, "America in Poland," *American Relief Administration Bulletin*, Series 2, No. 22 (March, 1922), pp. 46-49.

his daily meal regularly from the moment he reaches the frontier, first at stations en route, and afterwards at his home kitchen.

Special attention has been given to the clothing of refugee children. Out of this winter's clothing program approximately 15% of the material has been set aside for them. This gives the refugee children 50,000 pairs of shoes, 50,000 pairs of stockings, 40,000 overcoats, as the gift of the American Relief Administration; and to this the American Red Cross has added 25,000 boys' and girls' suits. In our largest refugee clothing station, at Baranovice, as many as a thousand children a day are served. Children are examined while their families are in the refugee barracks, and tickets (red for overcoats, blue for shoes, white for suits) are distributed to the various children, according to the item which may be lacking in their equipment.⁶

Not long ago, in making a tour of inspection in the eastern districts of Poland, I came across a Jewish kitchen in a miserable village near Bialystok. Because of the different kinds of foodstuffs, notably kosher vegetable oils instead of animal fats, required by the Orthodox Israelite faith,⁷ Christian and Jewish children generally eat in separate kitchens. My curiosity was aroused in noting forty or fifty children, in rags and in lamentable shape, obviously not Jewish, consuming rice and cocoa. The head of the kitchen's committee, an enthusiastic, earnest man fixed his eyes on me through spectacles of magnifying glass a quarter of an inch thick, and hastened to explain.

"Perhaps I have broken a rule," he said, "in cutting down the fixed daily portion for each of our children. Last Sunday I happened to be on the road near town when a caravan of returning Polish refugees from Russia halted. Their poor children had had practically nothing to eat for days. Look at their white, thin faces; they can hardly stand on their feet," and he pointed at the little group in the kitchen. "Our children may be poor, but they gladly share their portion with these unfortunates. Now I have a boy on the road to direct the refugee children to the kitchen each day."

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Why should these refugees be returning so long after the Treaty of Versailles?
2. The movement of large bodies of refugees usually results in much suffering. Plan the essential services which should be developed in order to aid dislocated people while in transit.
3. The A. R. A. was primarily engaged in childfeeding in Poland. Others received aid through Polish agencies. If you were free to choose, would you select only children as recipients in such a situation? Is there any difference in feeding a resident or a displaced group in this respect?
4. What are the hazards involved in the refugees' disposing of their possessions to anyone whom they meet en route? Discuss the merits of providing special refugee

currency for the use of refugees in transit. How could such currency be prepared and distributed?

5. What are the advantages and disadvantages of having refugees use the regular feeding centers provided for the resident population?

6. Plan a more comprehensive reception service for children in this border camp, including an arrangement for the distribution of clothing. What are the functions of such a reception service?

7. What are the major dietary rules to be observed in Orthodox Jewish kitchens?

50. Waiting for Release and Repatriation in Prison Camps; Europe, 1915-1918*

The conditions described in this record are likely to be similar to those which affect very large numbers of men and women waiting for repatriation. During and possibly also after the war they may have been held as prisoners of war, as political prisoners, as refugees, or as civilian internees. They have spent long years in concentration camps, labor colonies, prisons, and prison camps, frequently at great distances from their countries of origin. In many instances they will have assurance that after release from internment they will have a country which is expecting their return and will have a welcome for them. Others, rejected by their country of origin, political exiles, deportees, will not even be certain of the direction of their steps after release, since a country must first be found in which they will be accepted for permanent residence.

Whether they can count on repatriation or whether they face emigration and settlement in a new country, they will be very poorly prepared for an extremely difficult task by their experience behind the barbed wire.

If we wish to help them effectively after release, we must try to understand the situation from which they come, and which will have left a deep impact on them.

The physical suffering of the prisoners of war must not be stressed to the exclusion of deeper difficulties. While in many cases the actual physical condition was desperate and in all cases the difficulties of men were accentuated by under-feeding, the real problem was psychological rather than physical. If all the regulations of the Hague Conventions regarding maintenance had been faithfully carried out everywhere, the welfare needs of a prison camp would still have been urgent. The continued imprisonment of able-bodied and innocent men does violence to the very deepest sanctities of life. The prisoner of war was shut in by a double wall—the physical barrier of the barbed wire, and the moral barrier of an atmosphere of hostility.¹

It is not difficult to distinguish the successive stages in the experience of the fighting men captured in battle. His first feeling on reaching a prison camp was usually a sense of relaxation. The acute tension of battle was over. He slept and rested his fill. As soon as mind and body were rested, the natural curiosity of the normal male asserted itself. This was a new experience; he became interested in his guards, his fellow-prisoners, what he would eat. There were stories to tell and episodes to compare. Such a mood was wholesome but the possibilities of the situation were soon exhausted. Then it was that his soul ran into the barbed wire. He grew terribly sensitive and usually threw up his own defenses to retire therein alone in misery. Many observers state that for most of the men the last stage is already reached on arrival in the prison camp enclosure.

*Adapted from International Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, *Service with Fighting Men* (New York, Association Press, 1922), II, 219-225. By permission of The National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations.

Among prisoners of all nations there developed a distinct psychological condition, pathological in its nature to a varying degree. Herded together as they were in forced confinement without normal occupation; believing themselves hated and ill-used; tortured by their uselessness in the hour of their country's need and by anxiety regarding their own people at home; alternating between hope and despair till their numbed hearts could feel no more; fighting without adequate encouragement against approaching lethargy, with the blight of futility on all that they did—it is little wonder that so many of them sank into a neurasthenia so well-marked in type and symptoms that it has been called "barbed wire disease."

The barbed wire was ever present to the prisoner. From morning till night, and from day to day, throughout interminable weary months and years it was there. Through it he gained tantalizing glimpses of the great free world beyond; by it he was forever hurled back into his own drab and hated camp. The mere presence of the guards was a persistent irritation.

"We live in a kingdom of thorns," writes one prisoner, "and the points that prick us on all sides are to us like a nightmare. Do you imagine that these thorny obstacles that penetrate on all sides are soothing to our spirits? Make the experiment and imagine the picture of a man pointing a formidable revolver at you in such a way that, no matter from whatever angle you look at the picture, you stare down the black muzzle."

In the intense emotional complexes centering around the idea of the barbed wire that so effectually repressed desire we find the reason for the constant recurrence of this theme in their conversation, journals, letters, and in their choice of woodwork designs.

The barbed wire shut them out from the world of activity and satisfaction. It also shut them in with the herd of their fellow-prisoners. There was no privacy in a prison camp and no solitude.

"How well I understand," cries a French prisoner, "the saying of Saint Bernard: '*O beata solitudo, sola beatitudo*'—we sleep, we dress, we eat, we play, we walk, we search for fleas in our hair—we dream, we fume, we grow tender, we caress the dear relics in our knapsacks—all this in public." Again and again one finds words such as these: "Not a tiny place in the hut nor an inch of room where for a solitary moment one may be alone." People are swarming everywhere. One cannot sleep at night because the neighbors snore. This is the camp life of those of whom the world says: "They have a really good time and they are the lucky ones."

The inevitable result of this indiscriminate and unmitigated herding was an intense irritability, a growing hatred of their fellow prisoners and a confirmed habit of suspicion. They believed themselves exploited, ill treated, and betrayed by each other and by the whole world.

All this was intensified as the war dragged on its weary length. Sustained effort became more and more difficult. These men did not know how long their confinement would last. Their hopes rose and fell with the varying fortunes of the armies. Rumors, too wild and baseless to be believed by normal men, found easy acceptance. They swept through the camp. In some mysterious way the same wild stories would be found in widely separated sections, in spite of the fact that there was no communication between them. The prisoners, buoyed up by foolish hopes of early victory or impending exchange, would live for a brief while in the exaltation of unnatural and feverish expectancy only to fall to greater depths of hopelessness.² "The prisoner knows only one word—and that: 'When?' The one cry always goes up from our tombs: 'When shall we get away?'" The real tragedy was that all their efforts were infected with futility because they knew not the period of their sentence and could not plan with confidence, "Was it worth while to begin classes when any day might bring release?" So they questioned in the days of hope; and, the next day, firmly persuaded that their captivity would endure for years, they would begin with forced energy, only to be tormented by the same doubts when the next epidemic of rumors swept the camp.

To the experience of many, fate added another horror—ill health. For those who were really sick, there were hospitals; but for shattered nerves and the ordinary disabilities of a life that created misery without disability, there could be no relief. Conditions of crowding, undernourishment, and exposure imposed the most exquisite torture on the unfit. Depression tended always to add to the numbers of this unfortunate group. Epidemic diseases were not unknown in the camps and one can hardly imagine circumstances less favorable for a contest with infection.³

Where counteracting influences were not operative, the "barbed-wire disease" eventually produced a state of utter listlessness. Visiting workers found men passing most of the day in opium-like lethargy on their beds. A passing relief was sought in gambling—the only dissipation possible—and the day's rations were most frequently the stake. Many even of the most buoyant lost hope in the end. The whole outside world dissolved into unreality. Like shades in a land of shades they lived out day after day. Only dull resentment, heartache, and a feeling of oppression were real.⁴

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Prisoners of war usually develop unwholesome attitudes and behavior as a result of the great psychological pressures and thoroughly hostile experiences to which they have been exposed for so long. How can they be helped to overcome such attitudes and behavior?

2. How can they be helped to understand important political and ideological developments in the world from which they have been completely isolated, in order to make intelligent choices for their own future? Discuss problems of "re-education" in relation to this group.

3. Does the Geneva Red Cross Convention of 1929 offer any new protection not available during the last world war?

4. In view of the conditions described in the record, discuss the psychological problems involved in organizing transportation for the men (and women) after their release, especially if they have to travel long distances.

51. One Country Plans for 450,000 Repatriates; Finland, 1941*

The war between Finland and the U. S. S. R. ended with the peace at Moscow on 13 March, 1940. Under the treaty Finland had to cede to Russia nearly the whole of Karelia and certain minor areas in the north of Finland, in all, about 40,000 square kilometres. In addition, the town of Hango with the surrounding district was leased to the Soviet union for thirty years.

Apart from the cession of territory, much other property belonging to the state, the local authorities, and private persons was lost. According to the investigation made to ascertain the compensation due from the state for the loss of property on the ceded areas, the total amount involved reached the sum of 10,600,000,000 marks.

As against all these losses, it should be recorded that the Karelian population as a whole moved from the ceded areas to Finland. In spite of its losses, therefore, the Finnish nation remained undivided and vigorous, prepared to set about the work of reconstruction with the whole of its well-known energy and tenacity.

The measures which are intended to build up again what has been destroyed by the war may be divided into two groups: (1) those which aim at repairing material damage or caring for the families which have lost their breadwinners in the war and for the persons who have been seriously injured in the heavy struggle for national freedom, with as little delay as possible; (2) reconstruction work aiming at long-range results.

If the work of reconstruction could have been limited to repairing the injuries caused by the war on the Finnish side of the new frontier, the task would not have been so difficult. But it becomes more complicated when a secure existence has to be provided for some 450,000 evacuated citizens who have lost their all.

The economic basis for this work has been provided in part by an act of 9 August, 1940, respecting the compensation of property lost through the cession of territory, and in part by another act of August, 1940, concerning the capital levy. Under the first of these acts, property valued at up to 320,000 marks is compensated in full. After that the compensation is on a degressive scale, so that for property valued at 640,000 marks it amounts to 85%, for 1,280,000 marks it is 70%, for 2,560,000 marks, 55%, and so on, reaching 10% for property valued at 40,960,000 marks and over. The second act imposes a capital levy on a progressive scale, ranging from 2½% on property valued at not less than 40,000 marks to 20% on property valued at 40,960,000 marks and over. The

*Adapted from Eljas Kahra, "Reconstruction in Finland," *International Labour Review*, XLIII (May, 1941), 501-513. By permission of International Labour Office.

levy, which is payable in ten half-yearly installments, is not estimated to yield the whole amount needed for the payment of this compensation, and the deficit must be met out of state funds.¹ The system is complicated, and a detailed account would be out of place here.

The measures for assuring the evacuated population of a means of livelihood will differ according to whether the people in question belong to the agricultural population or whether they are persons who earned their living in industry, commerce, handicrafts, or other occupations or kinds of work.

The evacuated population comprises about 450,000 persons, of whom about 180,000 are estimated to belong to the farming population. They have to be placed on the Finnish side of the new frontier in such a way that they will have an opportunity to carry on with their former occupation. With this end in view the government introduced a bill for the speedy settlement of the transferred population and the act was promulgated on 28 June, 1940.

Any adult Finnish citizen who moves into Finland or is transferred from an area bordering the new national frontier to another locality in Finland and who earned a living, or possessed a dwelling in and earned part of his living, from the land or from fishing as the owner or part-owner of a holding, or as the tenant of a state holding in his former domicile, has a prior right under this act to land provided in accordance with the existing Land Settlement Act and to loans issued out of land settlement funds. In addition, he has a right to land provided under the act itself.

The land to be provided in each locality for this purpose is primarily state land. Where other land cannot be obtained by voluntary transfer, the following property may be expropriated for the purpose: land belonging to the residences of the clergy and organists of the Evangelical Lutheran and Orthodox Churches; land belonging to the said churches or to communes, companies, and other associations, and holdings which have been the subject of speculation or have been neglected; land belonging to persons who derive their main income from an occupation other than agriculture or who do not themselves reside on the holdings they own; any other land suitable for the purpose, subject to certain exceptions.

According to the act, three kinds of holdings are to be formed: for cultivation, for housing, and mixed holdings. If possible, they are to be grouped in settlements; the housing settlements to be in localities where the owners have an opportunity to earn a living, and the mixed holdings in localities where a favourable market for their products will allow of intensive cultivation, or where there are adequate openings for subsidiary earning.²

The Land Settlement Section of the Ministry of Agriculture has had the immense task of deciding how many holdings are to be created in

each province and what kinds they are to be. It is the duty of the Quick Settlement Committee in the commune, after inspecting the site, to draw up a plan for the opening up of state land and the expropriation of other land needed for the scheme. The boundaries of the sites covered by the plan must be staked off and marked on the map, and the necessary documents must be prepared. Thus the decision as to the expropriation of land is taken in connection with this preliminary inspection.

The number of evacuees who previously earned a living from industry, handicrafts, commerce, the liberal professions, and construction or other work is about 270,000. As yet there are no reliable statistics showing their situation on the employment market. But it is necessary to ascertain their conditions of work in order to be able to make plans for their economic security, and for this purpose a statistical enquiry is now in progress.³

The task of providing a means of livelihood for this section of the population is particularly arduous because Finland, like other countries whose oversea paths of commerce go through the war zone, is placed in a difficult situation by the commercial war. Industry on the Finnish side of the new frontier is finding it hard to provide work for its own labour force, and its means of giving work to the evacuees are therefore very limited. However, intensive planning is in progress to investigate Finland's means of providing productive work for the evacuated population and for the growth of the population.⁴ The government has appointed a production committee for this purpose, which began its work at the end of November, 1940.⁵

The evacuees who do not obtain a dwelling under the Quick Settlement Act must be provided not only with the means of earning a livelihood but also with a dwelling. This is a very extensive task, which will take several years to carry out. Three acts were promulgated in this connection on 19 December, 1940. The first revised the conditions for obtaining loans under the state "own home" scheme by allowing them to be granted on second mortgages up to 40% of the building costs, the builder being entitled to obtain a first mortgage on the property for up to 50% of its value. In addition the Own Homes Fund was increased by 40,000,000 marks. The second act makes it possible for the communes to obtain housing loans for the construction of dwellings for large families in necessitous circumstances, and allows them to relend the money to public utility building companies. The sum allocated to this purpose is 50,000,000 marks. The state may grant in the shape of reduced rents, amounting as a rule to 30-70% of the basic rent, depending on the number of children in the family. Under the third act, loans may be granted out of state funds direct to housing companies, subject to certain conditions intended to prevent speculation. Here again a state guarantee may be granted instead of the loan. The rate of interest on all these loans is 5% and the redemption period twenty-five years, subject to certain exceptions.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Evaluate the financial basis for providing new revenues and compensation for repatriated people as suggested in the record. What are the underlying principles of the scheme? Would it be possible or desirable to apply the same principles on an international scale?
2. Discuss the implications of the provisions of the Land Settlement Act from the point of view of those losing property and of those receiving it. Compare the provisions as described with policies and principles of agrarian reform in other European countries. What are the implications of the break-up of larger holdings in relation to: (a) the type of crops produced; (b) the nutritional status of a country; (c) its population policy?
3. What kind of statistical data is necessary to provide a basis for a wise distribution of a repatriated urban population?
4. Suppose the United States should decide to accept 270,000 new people for settlement who made their living in urban communities abroad? How would you plan for their distribution and re-establishment in an effort to make the best use of their experience, technical and professional qualifications, and capacity to work—without undue competition to older residents? Under American conditions how can the necessary statistical data for such resettlement be obtained?
5. How would you organize the reception and distribution of the Finnish repatriates on a national basis? On a regional basis?
6. How does housing legislation improve the opportunity of a repatriated people to obtain adequate dwellings in a very short time? Discuss and evaluate the various approaches to the housing problems as listed. How do they supplement each other? How do they compare with current American housing legislations? Would legislation similar to the Finnish acts become necessary in other European countries in which there will be a pronounced shortage of family dwellings due to destruction or to the influx of large population groups for permanent residence?

C. Population Transfers and Group Resettlement

52. Little Town of Mud—The Refugees' Own Community; Greece, 1922-1923*

As the result of unorganized post-war migrations as well as the formal exchange of peoples between Turkey and Greece in the early 1920's, well over one million refugees entered the land from Turkey, Asia Minor, bringing the total population up to about 6,500,000.

While the inrush of refugees was at its height, a ship arrived at Piraeus and dumped three thousand ashore. Nobody knew what to do with them.¹ It was merely a case of three thousand more of the same kind. There happened to be a piece of unoccupied ground between Phaleron and Athens, upon which they were told to camp. The soil was unproductive; that is why it was not in use. Sterile but sticky, when mixed with chaff and droppings gleaned from the highway and country road about, it did make poor bricks.

Winter was coming on, and there was no time to lose. Primitive implements were secured, the ground dug up and bricks were made and dried in the sun. Everybody worked, and within a few months there was a town, Dirgouti, built mainly by women and children.² In addition to crude family huts, there were shops, school barracks, and a building for the American Women's Hospitals, all made by the refugees out of these mud bricks.

A town government had already been established, and, in spite of difficulties, was already functioning. Business was being conducted. There were miniature grocery stores with beans, wheat, rice, strings of onions and other supplies.³ Shoemakers were at work at benches in front of their huts, using scraps of leather from old shoes sent into Greece by American and English relief organizations. But actual lack of food supplies meant that the people of this little town were all living below the hunger line.

The water supply was a constant problem. The refugees had come from a land with plenty of water, but Greece is always in a state of drought. At Dirgouti, as at other similar settlements, there was no supply except uncertain wells always infected with sewage. Water for cooking and drinking was brought in water wagons and had to be paid for by the liter.⁴

While most of the refugees were absorbed in one way or another by established communities, these special refugee centers like Dirgouti

*Adapted from Esther Pohl Lovejoy, *Certain Samaritans* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933), pp. 280-283. By permission of The Macmillan Company.

sprang up like toadstools in different parts of Greece and functioned on an inconceivably low financial plane. Nevertheless, communities were organized for social life, with shops, workrooms developing into small factories, and other industries conducted by refugees, who were doing an active business on what might be called a penny basis, with every penny circulating at the highest possible speed.

The looms appearing in the huts of the refugees were a hopeful indication in the midst of misery, forerunners of the factories of the future. At one mud hut we found a woman and three children working on a beautiful Smyrna rug. They had lost everything, she said. This was not exactly true. They had lost their homes, fortunes, and supply of rugs, but they had saved the cunning patterns in their brains and trained fingers, without which the looms and plants left behind were worthless. They left their buildings, flocks, and herds in Asia Minor, but the goose that laid the golden egg, sadly in need of fat and feathers, swam across the Aegean Sea with them.⁵

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. What first aid and temporary services would be most valuable for such a group on their arrival?
2. Would it have been preferable to distribute and relocate the group at more favorable spots inland rather than attempt to build up services which might tend to make the settlement a permanent one? Who could provide information and guidance in such a situation?
3. This community showed considerable initiative and ability to manage. How can a foreign service agency use these qualities to encourage self-help in developing temporary refuges? Discuss organizational procedure which would allow for a maximum of co-operative planning and operation.
4. What possible solutions can you suggest in order to provide an inexpensive water supply system for the community?
5. Discuss the effect on the economy of the country of sponsoring these small industries. Do they necessarily represent competition? Is competition always undesirable?

53. Problems of Urban Settlement; Greece, 1923-1927*

The Greek Refugee Settlement Commission was set up by the Council of the League of Nations to aid in the resettlement of the refugees who poured into Greece between 1917 and 1922. In distributing £13,000,000 in this work, the commission concentrated upon the agricultural, rather than the urban refugees. The following excerpt from the commission's report gives the reasoning behind this decision.

In considering the work accomplished during the last three-and-a-half years, the commission may well be satisfied in a general way with the results obtained up to the present time in the settlement of agricultural colonists with the funds at its disposal; but it has not had the funds required to establish urban refugees on the same scale.

Time has done its work since 1922 and has allowed a great number of these latter, who are as a rule courageous and industrious, to make a recovery and start business again. There is abundant evidence of this on every side. But the majority are still in a precarious situation and constitute a serious domestic problem. The problem is of twofold aspect—work and housing.

It is hardly necessary to recapitulate the circumstances which led the commission to confine its work almost entirely to the settlement of agricultural refugees. These refugees, camped in the open on the lands which were soon to be distributed to them, had to be provided with shelter immediately: otherwise they would have died of cold, or have made their way back to the towns. Furthermore, at the time when the Refugee Settlement Commission began its work, insufficiently populated Macedonia was suffering from scarcity of labour. A very efficient colonization service had already laid the foundations of settlements the future prosperity of which could be foreseen. Finally, the loan had to be used in a productive manner.¹ The natural course, therefore, was to follow the road already mapped out and to work for the definitive settlement of 500,000 farmers, who, by rapidly becoming self-supporting, would contribute at once to the solution of the emigration problem, and would fortify the social and economic life of the country.

For these reasons—and for lack of funds—the commission did little more, in the case of the towns, than provide a roof for about 18,000 families, completing the task which the Greek Government had begun and carried on until it made over to the Refugee Settlement Commission its quarters at Athens, the Piraeus, Eleusis, Volo, and Edessa.²

We should note the great difference which exists between the definitive settlement of agricultural refugees on the one hand and town refugees on the other. The former are settled as soon as they have been

*Adapted from League of Nations, *Fourteenth Quarterly Report of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission* (Geneva, League of Nations, 1927), pp. 13-14. By permission of The Economic, Financial, and Transit Department, League of Nations.

provided with land, a house, implements and a subsistence allowance until the next harvest.

The town refugee must above all be placed where he can carry on his trade or some trade, without which any house procured for him, besides being useless to him, might even injure his interests by riveting him to a spot where he could obtain no work.³ Most of the town refugees who emigrated from Turkey were engaged in trades and callings which were already represented in Greece. Even admitting that the existing supply was inadequate to meet the country's needs, the newcomers were too many and, at present at any rate, they lack customers. . . .

From whatever angle we approach it, if we look at the problem of work for town dwellers as a whole, we are bound to conclude that only two ways are open:

(1) Either they must to the best of their ability—which would probably not be considerable—become farmers. This would be difficult but the children would prove more successful than their parents;

(2) Or they must take up new callings, new urban trades. In this connection we should mention two possibilities: (a) Work on a large scale, especially the drainage of marshes which would gradually eliminate malaria and would double the cultivable area and agricultural yield of the country; (b) the creation of new industries and the multiplication of factories and manufactures. . . .⁴

This policy presupposes that the state or similar powerful organizations will set aside considerable sums for the purpose. It presupposes the existence and application of a carefully prepared program.

For the moment, only parts of this program seem to be materializing. Drainage works have been begun; new industries—carpet-making, silk industries, fisheries—are developing.

The town refugees have under the protocol as much right to productive settlement as the farmers, and it is perfectly possible to secure such a settlement. They have shown themselves to be highly capable in business on a large scale and in every branch of industry.

Unfortunately, this private initiative lacks two essential assets: sufficient capital, and a connecting link to unite individual efforts and allow organization of the manufacture and sale of products on a large scale.

This omission must be made good but the question will always be outside the competence of the commission which, in view of its constitution, is not capable of instituting or supervising industrial organizations of this kind. The commission confines itself to lending money to artisans for the purchase of their tools—a comparatively unimportant affair. The solution of the vast problem of organizing the country's industry is a matter for the government and private enterprise.⁵

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. The commission was expressly forbidden to spend its funds "for relief of distress or for charitable purposes" but only permitted to use its grant for "settlement on the basis of productive work" looking toward ultimate repayment. In view of the circumstances, do you regard this as an unwise limitation?
2. The Greek government had erected many "temporary" shelters, which were still being used by the urban refugees. If you had to choose between building many "temporary" shelters or fewer, but more substantial dwellings, which would you select? Why?
3. Is this distinction between urban and rural refugee problems a valid one? Does it follow that more productive and substantial gains in a country's economic reconstruction come through rural rather than through urban settlement aid?
4. Can you suggest other possibilities of work for the town refugees which the commission did not mention? Do you consider their reasoning sound?
5. Analyze the commission's explanation for not attempting to organize the country's industry. What are the arguments for and against such a point of view? What has been the policy of other League of Nations resettlement commissions on this question?

54. Community Resources for Relief, Health, and Education in an Agricultural Settlement; Syria, 1936*

The Kabur settlement was founded in August, 1934, for the accommodation of the Christian Assyrians who took refuge in Syria after the fighting in Iraq in August, 1933, some 2100 persons in all. With the adoption of the League of Nations scheme for placing the Assyrians in the Ghab district of Syria, the settlement came to be considered as a purely provisional half-way house to the permanent goal. It was expanded in 1935 to take some further 4000 Assyrians who, directly or indirectly as a result of the disturbances of 1933, were in a destitute condition in Iraq; it was again expanded in 1936 to take a further 2500 Assyrians whom it was considered desirable to set at once on the way to the Ghab. The transfer of all except the first 2100 Assyrians was intended as a purely provisional measure, and in the imperative interest of economy the minimum of expense was incurred in their installation. Further, the transfers in 1935-36 were carried out at short notice and without sufficient time to prepare villages and lands for occupation.¹

The irrigation facilities and the cultivable area of the settlement were accordingly not expanded in the proportion essential for a self-supporting community, and instead of settlement in the small villages being confined to one tribe, or to one sub-section in the case of the larger tribes, which is best suited to the Assyrian mentality, the new arrivals were mainly accommodated by increasing the size of the existing villages.

The task of creating the settlement was entrusted in 1934-35 by the French High Commission to M. Burnier, the Swiss expert who has been employed by the Nansen Office for many years past for the settlement of Armenians in Syria. On January 1st, 1936, the present trustee board of three members came into existence. M. Burnier has continued to serve as its expert and adviser. The subordinate staff employed by the board has recently been reduced as a result of the simplification of the financial regulations and the suppression of certain posts. The chief members of the staff are: at Beirut, a secretary-accountant; on the Kabur, an agricultural expert, a doctor, a surveyor and irrigation expert, a chief mechanic, a secretary-accountant, and an interpreter (Assyrian).²

We think that the trustee board is following the best policy in dealing with the Assyrians as far as possible through their tribal chiefs, the senior or most appropriate of whom is appointed headman of each village, and is responsible for the execution of the orders of the authorities in his village. A meeting is held of the village headmen at least once a

*Adapted from League of Nations, *Settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq; Report of the Committee of the Council for the Settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq* (Geneva, League of Nations, 1937), pp. 5-8, 11-13, 15-16. By permission of The Economic, Financial, and Transit Department, League of Nations.

month, when instructions are given and explained to them, and they are free to raise any questions they desire to in connection with the administration of the settlement. These chiefs are generally of some intelligence and education and possess, for the most part, authority over their tribesmen.

The Assyrians on the Khabur are, in the great majority, extremely primitive and backward. There is not in the settlement a single Assyrian who has passed any academic test, however simple; not 2% can sign their names, and the great majority speak only their own language (Syriac). There are not 150 Assyrians in all with any sort of artisan knowledge, and their agricultural capacity was also very limited on their arrival.

The total population of the settlement is now about 8800. The Assyrians are at present settled in sixteen villages which vary greatly in size from over 1000 inhabitants to between 100 and 1550. The original villages founded in 1934 were swollen to accommodate the Assyrians transferred from Iraq in 1934-36. Their size and the inevitable mixture of tribes greatly complicated the administration of the settlement and in the last eighteen months the trustee board has pursued a policy of decentralization and the grouping of tribal sections in small or medium-sized villages. With one exception, each village is now confined to Assyrians of a single tribe. The two most prominent tribes in the settlement, the Upper Tiari (2600 head) and Tkhuma (2350 head), are represented each by three villages grouped together. The trustee board considers it essential, however, to reduce still further the four largest and unwieldy villages by the creation of additional small villages. This would also put an end to overcrowding in the houses of some of the larger villages, where there is an average of four to five persons per "dome" as against two to three in the case of the more recent smaller villages.

The headquarters of the administration are at the village of Tell Tamer, situated towards the northern end of the southern group of villages and in the center of the present settlement. This village contains the administration building, the hospital, the sheds and garage housing the greater part of the administration's material, agricultural machinery, supplies, etc., and a post of Syrian gendarmerie, composed of eight mounted gendarmes.³

The villages themselves make a favorable impression and seem well and substantially built. The settlement authorities have adopted as the standard form of construction the "beehive" dome-shaped house of sun-dried brick, which is of common use in Northern Syria. These "domes" permit a relatively large and airy construction without the great expense of wooden beams and rafters in a treeless land. For reasons of health and to diminish the risk of malaria, the villages have been set as high as possible above the river upon ancient mounds, and vegetation amongst the houses has been discouraged.

The Assyrians are allowed to add on to their houses such additional construction as they desire and in most cases they have in fact constructed dependencies of various sorts, such as porches and verandas, cook houses, enclosures for livestock, poultry houses, etc. The tribal chiefs and individuals with private means have in many cases provided themselves at their own expense with quite elaborate additional constructions or have elected to build themselves flat-roofed houses, which they prefer to the more airy and hygienic domes provided by the administration.

The Assyrian immigrants have been supplied with free food rations for a period of eighteen months after their arrival, twelve months on the full standard ration and six months on a "half ration" (costing actually 70% of the full ration).⁴ This period compares favorably with that adopted in the case of many analogous settlements—*e. g.* of the Armenians settled in Syria. The standard ration included flour, rice, sugar, and a little tea; its average per head per day was 80 centimes before the devaluation of the franc in September 1936 and 1.16 francs after. As in the case of all similar settlements, the content of the ration was necessarily kept at a minimum, so as not to weaken the inducement of the Assyrians to work hard and make themselves self-supporting as soon as possible.⁵ It was in any case essential to keep the expenditure on food rations as low as possible—inevitably a very heavy item in the budget—so as to retain as much as possible of the total contributions offered for the final and permanent scheme of settlement.

The commission has in practice always voted the credits for food supplies as a lump sum and has left the actual distribution to the trustee board. The commission has also insisted on various occasions that every effort should be made to discriminate between the Assyrians by distributing free rations according to the private means of the individual. It must be recalled that only part of the Assyrians arrived in Syria as destitute refugees; many of the settlers, particularly in the most recent transfers, brought with them numerous livestock and considerable means in cash. The trustee board has, however, found it virtually impossible to carry out such discrimination, owing to the refusal of the Assyrians to state their resources. At the same time, the board has avoided a rigid attitude in the matter of rations, and in deserving cases has continued to help the Assyrians beyond the normal period.

The present position is that the 6000 Assyrians who arrived in Syria in 1933-35 are officially no longer entitled to any free rations after July 1st, 1937, whereas the 2500 brought over last year are entitled to the half-ration for a further period of six months. The question of free rations is therefore now largely a matter of past history, and with the exception of the latest arrivals referred to above, the settlers should, this summer, have been dependent for food supplies on what was produced within the settlement—*i. e.* the produce of gardens and fields, of livestock and poultry. They would not, of course, have been "self-supporting," since the

settlement fund is continuing and must continue for some time to bear the cost of running the irrigation plant and the administration and upkeep of the settlement generally. Moreover, it was necessary to include in this year's budget a special credit to supplement the deficient harvest in 1936, and owing to the failure of the rainfall in the first quarter of this year, the Assyrians will now require further special assistance if they are to have enough to eat in the period before the 1938 harvest is collected.

It is naturally difficult in the course of a short visit to arrive at a definite conclusion as to the sufficiency of the nourishment obtained by the Assyrians in the settlement, taking into account not only the free supplies distributed to them but also the produce of the settlement itself. We have, however, no hesitation in recording that we did not see any signs of underfeeding among either the adult population or the children. The children whom we saw in the villages seemed healthy (e. g., the eye disease which is almost universal among children in the Middle East was rarely noticeable) and were running about and playing happily. It is obvious, of course, that the great difference in material wealth between the individual Assyrian families and their varying capacity for agriculture must result in widely different standards of living, and we do not suggest that all the Assyrians have a full or ideal diet. But on the evidence at our disposal we agree with the trustee board that, while some hardship is inevitable in the early days of a new agricultural settlement, there is no reason, with the agriculture of the settlement organized on its present basis and supplemented by the free supplies distributed by the trustee board, why any Assyrian family should suffer detriment from sustained underfeeding.⁶

Experience hitherto of the settlement seems to show that the region is fundamentally healthy and suitable for the Assyrians. The number of deaths is entirely normal and the population is increasing. The Assyrians are in general healthier than the other elements inhabiting the region and the only illness which is at present widespread in the settlement is malaria. There is one leper in the settlement, who was sent over, surprisingly enough, in one of the convoys from Iraq, without any previous warning to the settlement authorities.

The sanitary organization of the settlement has undoubtedly been greatly improved under the present doctor, a former Russian subject with good qualifications, who took over on the Khabur some months ago. The main hospital has been reorganized and enlarged under his direction and impressed us very favorably. A small operating theater has now been prepared, and minor operations with anesthetics are regularly performed. The main activity of the hospital is in connection with outpatients and the dispensing of medicines, but beds exist to accommodate ten persons, a number which it is hoped shortly to extend. It is intended to bring to the Khabur some camp equipment left over from the Ghab scheme, which will provide greatly increased accommodation if required.

The policy of the trustee board, which seems to us undoubtedly correct, is however to make the Assyrians as self-reliant as possible in medical matters and to discourage recourse to the medical organization in trivial cases. For the present medical organization cannot be maintained indefinitely, and as the Assyrians will eventually be dependent on the medical services of the Syrian government, which inevitably are somewhat limited in a thinly populated and distant district like the Upper Jezireh, or on any private doctors who may practice in the small towns of the region, it would be no kindness to endow them at present with an elaborate but temporary organization.⁷

The doctor is assisted by a number of Assyrian men and women with some experience of nursing and dispensing, and in each of the larger villages there is a resident *infirmier*, an Assyrian with medical experience who holds a small stock of dressings and is qualified to deal with minor emergencies and to act generally as the doctor's local representative.

At the present moment, education in the settlement is confined to elementary teaching given to a proportion of the children by priests and by a few lay-teachers, the church buildings being generally used as classrooms. The trustee board makes small grants for education to the various village headmen, who are responsible for spending the money either on small salaries to the teachers or on the purchase of schoolbooks and utensils.⁸ The schools maintained by the Chaldean community are subsidized by local Roman Catholic sources. Figures furnished by the trustee board show that in the whole settlement 755 girls and boys attend school and that there are seventeen recognized teachers. There are one or more schools in all except six villages, four of which are in any case too small to justify a separate school.

The trustee board has not felt able to recommend hitherto increased expenditure on education in view of the urgent material requirements of the settlement and the restricted funds available. We understand that in their view (with which we entirely agree) any eventual extension of education should be on practical lines and should concentrate, in particular, on the teaching of Arabic and of agricultural subjects. This would be more calculated to help the Assyrians in their everyday lives and to facilitate their relations with the other elements in Syria than mere expansion of the facilities for education in the Syriac language.⁹

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Under what conditions may such a plan be justified? Trace the history of the Assyrians prior to the time when they were offered a refuge in a provisional settlement.
2. What are the functions of a settlement agency—here called the trustee board—in developing a new community? Relate its functions to the selection of technical personnel as described in the record.

3. What communal services might be added advantageously to the service units as described?

4. What are the objectives of providing such support? Would you consider a gradual reduction of support after a period of twelve months a valid plan under any circumstances?

5. Discuss the assumption that the content of the ration must be kept at a minimum so as not to pauperize the Assyrians.

6. Evidently the commission had received complaints regarding the inadequacy of support. How could they have tested the nutritional situation in a more objective manner? What criteria for an adequate diet could have been used?

7. Do you agree with the policy of the trustee board in medical matters? What forms of health services might be introduced by the settlement agency which might possibly be continued after the board's withdrawal?

8. What are the relative roles of general and vocational education in the development of a new settlement? Should the settlement agency be interested in providing educational services? Discuss the agency's policy of making small grants for education to the various village headmen.

9. Would you agree that the expenses for educational services and equipment should be considered secondary in importance as long as urgent material requirements have not been met?

55. New Settlers: Experiences and Attitudes; Syria, 1936*

It is not easy to give a general and comprehensive picture of the state of mind of the Assyrian settlers and their attitude towards the settlement; conditions vary greatly between the different tribes and villages and between the individual Assyrians. With the exception of a visit by two of the leading tribal chiefs authorized by the council of village headmen to act as their delegates, the petitions which we received either orally or in writing from Assyrian groups and individuals were of little value in helping to assess the situation; they were usually couched in ridiculously exaggerated terms and were often flatly contradicted by subsequent counter-petitions. The main subjects which preoccupy the Assyrian fall, however, broadly under two heads: (a) the material circumstances in the settlement, and (b) the political future in the Syrian Republic.

The settlement has suffered from the initial handicap that, whereas it is of necessity purely agricultural and pastoral in character, over half its Assyrian population had lost touch with the life of the cultivator or shepherd, either through continued service in the British Levy Force in Iraq or through forsaking the country for work in the Iraq towns.¹ The levy element have reverted satisfactorily enough to agricultural life, and among the most hardworking and amenable on the Khabur today are the bulk of the Assyrians who crossed into Syria in 1933.

But the town-bred elements, who grew up after the war in Bagdad or Mosul as servants, shopkeepers, clerks or laborers, have remained discontented with their new life. They seem mostly either incapable or unwilling to work on the land for their subsistence, and the present regime by which the Assyrians are not allowed to travel outside the Khabur except for medical reasons prevents them from settling in the towns. These people number not more than a few hundreds out of a population of nearly 9000; but they have lost most of their tribal status, are out of control of their chiefs, and by virtue of the smattering of learning which distinguishes them in an almost entirely illiterate population, are able to form a vociferous and aggressive minority, whose fundamental grievances against life on the Khabur have been greatly sharpened by the prospect of the end of all free food supplies.²

They are, moreover, mostly able to speak a little English or Arabic, and this enables them to waylay outside visitors to the settlement and to convey the impression that their discontents are shared by the whole population. Included in this minority of malcontents are a number of

*Adapted from League of Nations, *Settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq; Report of the Committee of the Council for the Settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq*, (Geneva, League of Nations, 1937), pp. 13-15. By permission of The Economic, Financial, and Transit Department, League of Nations.

individuals who can better be described as professional agitators and who are responsible for fomenting much of the discontent. This unwelcome element seems to have come almost entirely with the last transfer in 1936. The object of this transfer was to relieve the situation of the Assyrians in Bagdad and Mosul, but it is regrettable that occasion was taken to include notoriously troublesome individuals whose presence in the purely agricultural, provisional settlement on the Khabur could only lead to unrest and difficulty.

As against the small minority of "professional malcontents" we have the impression that the great majority of the Assyrian settlers have retained their traditional character of an agricultural and pastoral community and have no fundamental prejudice against the Khabur region. Indeed, many appear to realize its economic possibilities in view of the market for vegetables and livestock. They have come to appreciate the value of the irrigated gardens which have already been made over to them individually, and though this form of cultivation is new to them, are gaining experience and have begun to sell some of their produce.

But uncertainty about the future of the settlement has had unfortunate results. The Assyrian agriculturists are hardworking and thrifty on their own land, for their own benefit. But when they were uncertain whether their work would have lasting value, and they were lacking a sufficient total area of arable land, much of the essential agricultural equipment and, in many cases, even a minimum of livestock, it is hardly surprising that they felt insecure. Moreover, this feeling of insecurity turned rapidly into one of alarm when the Assyrians came to realize recently that free food rations were coming to an early end and that the drought was likely to ruin much of the winter crops and cause losses among the livestock.³

The incidence of this feeling of insecurity, and of the reluctance to work to which it can lead, varies between different tribes and villages. Much depends on the character and influence of the tribal chiefs and village headmen,⁴ on the amount of property, on the size and composition of the villages. Another important element is the distance from administration headquarters, since the overworked staff cannot give the same degree of supervision to the outlying villages.

Nevertheless, despite increasing concern over economic conditions, it is clear that it is their future political situation which at present pre-occupies the Assyrians. The prospect of coming under the control of the mandatory power inspired to a great extent their desire to emigrate to Syria. The Assyrians have retained as a community their primitive simplicity in political matters, and they clearly did not envisage an early termination of the mandate. They were disillusioned to learn last year that it was intended that the mandate over Syria should end in three years, and they became at once apprehensive as to their future. Their apprehensions seem to have been increased by the visit to the Khabur

settlement of certain Syrian politicians, whom the Assyrians understood to advise them that if they wished to remain and prosper in Syria, they would do well to abandon their own customs, dress and language. Some of the Assyrians seem to have interpreted these visitors—though doubtless quite erroneously—as advising them to give up their religion.⁵

If the Assyrians knew definitely that they had to remain on the Khabur, and possessed the essential equipment to develop their individual lands, they would probably not be so preoccupied by their political future. The feeling of material and economic insecurity analyzed above enhances the feeling of political and religious insecurity.

From these various disquieting influences, a general sort of *malaise* is undoubtedly spreading rapidly, taking advantage of every little incident, such as the disappointment that we were unable to say anything definite about the future of the settlement when questioned by a delegation of their chiefs. Some of the professional agitators mentioned above preach the dangerous doctrine that it is in the interest of the Assyrians to make trouble and refuse to settle down, since the League of Nations will then be forced to remove them elsewhere, and even if they do not obtain a better settlement they will at least receive free food for a further period. The trustee board, loyally supported by most of the tribal chiefs and by the reasonable and genuine element among the Assyrians, does its best to combat this insidious propaganda, with its appeal to the refugee mentality which their history since the war has engendered in many Assyrians. But it is seriously handicapped by the uncertainty about the future.

A difficult problem closely connected with the foregoing concerns the Government of Iraq. The trustee board has a list of twenty-nine men known to have returned to Iraq, leaving their wives and families on the Khabur. It is rumored that after a short term of imprisonment they have been found working in the vicinity of Mosul. The settlement authorities are embarrassed by having to maintain the families of these absconders, and they cannot be left separated indefinitely from their men.

A further question is raised by petitions received from a small number of Assyrians, stating that they preferred to live in Iraq and to resume their Iraq nationality, and requesting that the Government of Iraq allow them to return. If the government of Iraq is willing to readmit Assyrians who are anxious to return, and if land is available for them in Iraq, there will certainly be no advantage in retaining them on the Khabur. It should, however, be made entirely clear to them that they would in no circumstances be allowed to change their minds again.⁶

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. How far should the occupational background of potential settlers influence the development of the settlement? For example, should the Assyrians who were not agriculturists have been prevented from joining the new communities? If there were reasons for including them, was it possible to develop work suited to their former experience, or should they have been expected to make a complete occupational adjustment to a new agricultural community?
2. What efforts could the settlement agency have made to overcome their discontent?
3. How can the settlement agency anticipate this feeling of insecurity and alarm by preventive measures?
4. How can the settlement agency strengthen the development of leadership among the settlers? Can the traditional status of the tribal chiefs and village headman be utilized in a systematic way to promote a high degree of self-government? What qualifications are needed in the settlement staff for the development of such resources?
5. What is the meaning of the mandate to the settlers as a minority group under its protection? Do you consider their resistance to abandoning their own customs justified?
6. How can the settlement agency deal realistically with the problem of repatriation? Should the desire of some settlers to go back to Iraq be ignored? Can it be recognized in a form which will bring more complete clarification to the entire community? What guarantees are needed before the settlement plan can be brought to an end with the expectation of complete repatriation of the group in question?

56. European Refugee Settlers in the Caribbean; Santo Domingo, 1940*

In July, 1938, representatives of 32 nations met at Evian, France, to consider, as one of their major problems, how to find permanent homes for large numbers of refugees who were being compelled to emigrate from central Europe for political or religious reasons. The representative of the Dominican Republic stated that his government was prepared to admit up to 100,000 persons for gradual settlement.

On January 30, 1940, after investigations¹ and organization, a formal contract was signed by the Dominican Government and the Dominican Republic Settlement Association (a non-sectarian, non-profit association which aims to help the settlers establish themselves in the Dominican Republic; hereafter called Dorsa).

In this contract the Dominican Republic guaranteed to the settlers and their descendants full opportunity to continue their lives and occupations free from molestation, discrimination, or persecution, with full freedom of religion and religious ceremonials, with equality of opportunities and of civil, legal, and economic rights.

Settlement was to progress gradually over a period of years, in order that the colonists might establish themselves as citizens of the Republic and reimburse Dorsa for its expenditures in their behalf. Dorsa was to select settlers for their fitness and technical ability for agriculture, industry, manufacture and trades.² Approximately 500 families were to be admitted as a first group, and this number was to be increased gradually up to 100,000 persons "in accordance with decision which in this respect shall be made jointly by the Republic and the Association."

The executive power agreed to initiate laws freeing the settlers from all entry taxes and permitting them to bring with them free of duty furniture, personal effects, equipment, tools, etc. Dorsa was to supply funds for transporting the settlers and for maintaining them until they should become self-supporting.

Sosua, a 26,000 acre tract on the north coast of the Republic, was selected as the site of the first colony because it could be obtained without spending any of Dorsa's limited capital, but also because the buildings and other improvements already on the property, and its accessibility, made immediate utilization possible. It had previously been a banana plantation. The committee reported that the tract was suitable for cattle and dairy production, but that comparatively low rainfall, shallow

*Adapted from Brookings Institution, *Refugee Settlement in the Dominican Republic; A Survey Conducted Under the Auspices of the Brookings Institution* (Washington, Brookings Institution, 1942), pp. 281-296. By permission of Brookings Institution.

soils, small areas of plowable land, and scattered rock outcrops made it less suitable for general settlement purposes.

Six persons were established at Sosua in March and April, 1940; twenty-seven men, ten women, and one child arrived on May 10, 1940. The next substantial contingent came in September. Between March, 1940 and June 30, 1941, Sosua developed from nothing to a community of 352 men, women, and children living in a new environment, learning new tasks, and slowly learning a new language. A settlers' organization was effected, a settlers' council was brought into operation,³ and religious services were held regularly.

Settlers arriving at Sosua before the end of 1941 were assisted by Dorsa under the following arrangement:

1. Each settler receives maintenance for one year: food, lodging, necessary work clothing, medical attention, agricultural training and Spanish instruction, plus \$3.00 per month in cash. . . . Dorsa hopes that settlers will be ready before or by the end of the first six months to go on their own homesteads. From that time till the end of the year the homesteader receives a free credit at the Dorsa store or warehouse of \$9.00 a month, in lieu of food and lodging previously received while living in barracks.⁴ Dorsa and the settlers' council decide when an individual is ready to go out on his own homestead. . . . Additional credits are given for settlers' children.

2. The family homestead will consist of the following:

A house on one hectare of land (about 2½ acres)	\$800
An additional hectare of garden land	35
Furniture, fixtures, garden tools	120
Small livestock	25
One horse, one mule	45
One saddle	15
Two cows	45
Miscellaneous equipment	15
Credit per family for entering co-operative, money-making enterprise approved by Dorsa	500
 Total	 \$1600

This \$1600 is the only debt charged to the settler. Dorsa does not expect to recover the cost of transporting the settlers from Europe or the cost of their maintenance during the first year at Sosua.

The Dominican settlement colony is prohibited by agreement from engaging in competitive enterprise.⁵ The initiation of refugee industry depends basically upon agricultural development of the settlement.

During the first six months small plantings of vegetables, corn, papaya, bananas, and yucca were made. Cocoanuts were planted on a

larger scale, but in an area of heavy, sticky, black clay soil—an environment so unsuitable that the plants grew poorly and the project failed. Two field tracts were planted to bananas. One, in heavy soil in a small valley, gradually died out. The other, on somewhat more desirable land, is still intact, but no appreciable yield of fruit has so far been harvested.

Apparently the surveys and reconnoitering of the first six months consisted of horseback trips into the hills and along the seacoast of the property. No accurate determination of the amount of plowing land available, no over-all drainage plans, and no general layout for a road system were made during this first period.⁶

In December, 1940, some of the settlers were moved to the first homesteads, but no definite areas were assigned. These first settlers constructed wooden fences around small tracts of less than half an acre adjacent to their houses. In these gardens they planted beans, cabbage, tomatoes, potatoes, cucumbers, lettuce, and other vegetables. Several settlers produced good gardens and in one or two instances they marketed considerable quantities of vegetables at the local store.

Although most of the agricultural operations before January 1, 1941, were carried out by the settlers, a large part of the work after that date was done by hired Dominican labor. This was true especially of such work as cutting down trees, collecting and burning brush, erecting fences, clearing pastures, and practically all work involving use of oxen. Farm operations were much hindered by lack of skill and experience on the part of the settlers. Frequently mechanical equipment was used under improper adjustment.

The agricultural field program was divided roughly into three phases: preparation of available land, training of settlers, and exploration and development of new areas. During the first part of the settlement's history, the first task was to train the settlers, and the small areas near the central group of buildings were prepared and planted in the training work. However, as the number of settlers increased, and as available land areas were enlarged and more attention given to developing new areas, the agricultural supervisory staff was not materially increased. As operating units became more scattered, much more time was spent by settlers in traveling to places of work, and great difficulties were experienced by the staff in keeping in touch with the far flung operations.

Extensive observations in the field indicate that the settlers did not receive adequate field instruction or demonstration. It would seem essential that careful instruction be carried out by explaining the various fields of activities with practical lessons under the eyes of competent instructors with sufficient time and enthusiasm to devote to the work.⁷

Most of the permanent buildings found on the property were in usable condition. The large dwelling has been remodeled into an office building for use by the supervisory staff. Several warehouses, an en-

gineering office, a woodworking shop, and other buildings have been constructed. A number of barracks built late in 1940 and 1941 are used to house settlers during their training period while they are being prepared for life on the homestead. One of these barracks contains a community hall.

Except in a few instances, the houses are being built by Dominican labor,⁸ the settlers' time being used in a training program to fit them for an earlier self-sustaining life on the land. A rather uniform house design was used to facilitate construction and to reduce supervision. In general the houses are of frame construction, native pine lumber with galvanized sheet-iron roofs being used. The houses are set on concrete piers. They contain two rooms, a kitchen, bath, and porch. No termite protection is built in and no screens provided. The cost of construction is \$740.

Dorsa found on the property a 50,000 gallon reservoir, located on the side of a hill, from which water was piped to the principal buildings. Settlers are told to boil all drinking water.

Health conditions have thus far been good. Forty cases of malaria were reported up to July 1, 1941, of which three were chronic, but there have been no cases of dysentery or typhoid. The principal maladies contracted after arrival at the settlement have been gastro-intestinal troubles and abscesses, with a few cases of angina, influenza, and skin diseases.

Out of the total of 352 settlers, 234 were men, from various walks of life. The group was composed of some enthusiastic, hardworking individuals; others who were not industrious and not particularly enthusiastic but capable of getting along; and others who lacked ambition and had little desire to work. Unfortunately the number in this latter group appeared to be in the neighborhood of ten to twenty per cent of the total number of colonists. Only thirteen of the colonists had previously been engaged in farming, although others had had some agricultural experience or training. They were for the most part exiled German and Austrian Jews, few of whom, of course, had been engaged in agriculture. An effort was made to choose persons who had some experience which would be useful, or who seemed to have the qualities necessary for success in a new pursuit in a new environment.

The task of selecting colonists, obtaining the numerous visas required, and finding accommodations on ships was extremely difficult and complicated. The colony would, however, have been in no position to handle a very large number of persons during its first year. The slow growth of the settlement has been a disappointment to those who hoped that the project might materially alleviate the plight of refugees in Europe.⁹

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. In investigating areas for new settlement, a number of factors need to be studied before a country, and a specific area within the country, may be considered suitable. Outline and discuss such essential factors which would be under observation in an exploratory study.
2. What considerations should govern the sound selection of settlers? Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a plan for a homogeneous settlement with regard to race, nationality, or religion. Contrast it with a plan for settlement of a mixed population group.
3. Discuss the composition and functions of a settlers' council. How can it be developed into a very important instrument of self-government participating in all phases of the expanding community? What would be a desirable relationship between the settlement agency and the settlers' council which might be developed from the very beginning? Specify machinery for planning and administration.
4. Evaluate the plan of granting a free but limited credit at the community store to each settler in lieu of other forms of support.
5. What are some of the problems inherent in such an agreement with the national government? What criteria can be used in defining competitive enterprises, and what machinery will be necessary to facilitate fair decisions?
6. The report mentions the lack of detailed land plans which might have been developed during the first six months of the settlement. Perhaps the delay can be accounted for by visualizing the attitudes and behavior of the newcomers, who, after years of insecurity and possibly hardship, have reached a haven. Discuss some of the psychological problems of the settlement staff in facing such a group of newcomers and in planning their work.
7. Try to plan adequate instructions and demonstrations related to the development of a new agricultural community in a subtropical setting, assuming that the new arrivals have practically no related experience. How can a very limited staff of expert instructors reach a group of several hundred people?
8. What problems are involved in the use of native labor in a new settlement? Will it strengthen the relationship of the settlers to the national community?
9. What type of services may have to be developed under the auspices of the settlement staff, or as a co-operative undertaking of the settlers' association, in order to overcome, as far as possible, some of the handicaps described in the record. We may assume that such difficulties will be connected with recent experiences of the newcomers and will be overcome by the right approach.

57. A New Homeland in the Chaco; Paraguay, 1930-1938*

In the autumn and early winter of 1929 some 4000 Mennonites, members of a once prosperous German agricultural community in the Ukraine which before the World War had numbered approximately 100,000 were permitted by the Soviet authorities to leave the country. Co-religionists in the United States and Canada, through the Mennonite Central Committee, came to the aid of the refugees and secured funds to transport and settle 2000 of them in the Paraguayan Chaco. In January, 1930, a representative was sent to Germany, where the refugees were temporarily housed, to complete arrangements for the settlement.¹ The colonists were to be equipped with the necessary household goods and agricultural implements and were to be supported for one year in the Chaco by the Mennonite Central Committee.

At the same time a representative was sent to Paraguay to aid in the preparation of the colonization scheme. The Paraguayan government was eager for colonists for the hitherto wholly undeveloped territory and made extraordinary concessions including absolute freedom of conscience, and freedom from military service, also freedom from taxes and tariffs for ten years. The Mennonite Central Committee had negotiated with the *Corporacion Paraguaya* for the land, and contracts covering the mutual obligations were signed in Germany before the refugees left for Paraguay. By the end of 1930 most of the colonists had arrived in the Chaco.

The colony was located 150 miles west of the Paraguay River, fifty miles beyond the end of the narrow gauge railroad which extends into the Chaco from Puerto Casado, on a 100,000-acre tract of land. Practically nothing had been done in the way of preparation of the country for the immigrants. Outside of a half-finished warehouse, one well, and one primitive house, there was little to suggest any difference in the tract from the thousands of square miles of wilderness which surrounded it. Within the entire tract there was not a single brook or spring which contained water the year around.²

After several weeks the camps which were to be the locations for the villages were selected and divided into parcels which were assigned by lot to the individual families in the villages. Each family received a long, narrow strip 70 to 165 yards wide totaling 100 acres in all. Here, 150 miles from the nearest human habitation, in a land vastly different from

*Adapted from Walter Quiring, "The Colonization of the German Mennonites from Russia in the Paraguayan Chaco," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, VIII, No. 2 (April, 1934), 62-72; and Harold S. Bender, "With the Mennonite Refugee Colonies in Brazil and Paraguay—A Personal Narrative," *Mennonite Quarterly Review*, XIII, No. 1 (January, 1939), 64-70. By permission of *Mennonite Quarterly Review*.

their wellkept Ukraine farmland, they set out to carve a homeland out of the wilderness.³

The original settlement of over 2000 people, called "Colonia Fernheim," has lost considerably by emigration so that today (1938) it has only 282 families with approximately 1400 persons in all. Almost 1000 settlers have left the colony during the course of the eight years, the largest group of approximately 800 settling on a tract of land on the east side of the Paraguay River, about half-way between Concepcion and Asuncion. The main cause of the emigration was friction and factional strife in Fernheim, and not climate or unsatisfactory economic conditions. In spite of the fact that the group which left is now located in a more favorable climate with better marketing facilities, the original Chaco colony has much better economic prospects.

Hardships and misfortunes have affected the Chaco colony. Within the first year over ten percent of the colonists died, mainly from a typhus epidemic which struck them while they were living in temporary barracks at Puerto Casado waiting for final location on the Chaco lands. Periodic drought affected the crops, especially in 1934 and 1936. Insect pests, particularly grasshoppers, which often came in great hordes, have been a serious problem from the outset. The great distance from the railway and the difficulties in finding a market for the products of the colony, together with the money inflation which developed during the Paraguayan-Bolivian war, have handicapped economic development. In addition to this the government has devised a system of control of foreign exchange which has taken a large part of the value from the cotton sold to foreign markets, and cotton is thus far the only export crop.

The greatest danger to the colony came in the Paraguayan-Bolivian war over the Chaco, which broke out in 1932 and was fought in large part not far from the colony. For months the settlers could hear the roar of cannon and the rattle of machine guns and lived in constant danger of having to flee. Malaria was brought into the colony by the soldiers, with the result that over ninety percent became victims of the disease, although few deaths resulted.

In spite of all these and other hindrances, a tremendous work has been accomplished in a short time. Visitors to the colony are amazed when they suddenly reach the neat villages after a long journey of several days by ox-cart through the primeval Chaco. The colony now owns some 40,000 acres with over a third of it under cultivation. The settlers are organized in eighteen villages on the pattern of the Mennonite villages in Russia, and one central town, called Philadelphia. Each village is composed of ten to fifteen families, each occupying 250 acres of land. Each family has an average of thirty acres of land under cultivation and owns a team of horses and ten to fifteen head of cattle.

The chief crops are now cotton, peanuts, kaffir, and beans. Last year over a million pounds of cotton were produced in the colony. The

highest cash income of any one farmer last year was over \$600, although the average was considerably lower. This year the prospect was for the best crop in the history of the colony, but a plague of grasshoppers took three-fourths of the cotton, so that the output was less than a million pounds against an anticipated four million pounds. Prices have also come down and the average cash income this year in Colonia Fernheim per family is probably less than \$100. Some families will need help, but food crops are plentiful, so that the colony as a whole can get through until the next crop without difficulty.

In spite of the poor crop this year, the colony is paying a substantial amount on its debt and looks forward with confidence to the future. The general feeling seems to be that while hardships must still be faced, the worst is past and better times are coming.⁴ If reasonable crops can be harvested next year, with reasonable prices, the total cash income of the colony should easily reach \$100,000.

Now that the war clouds between Bolivia and Paraguay have been finally dispersed, the development of Paraguay will proceed more rapidly. The peace treaty provides, among other things, a free port for Bolivia at Puerto Casado or nearby, which means that the railroad which is to be built from Bolivia will go through the Chaco very near to the colony. This will go far towards solving the problem of transportation and markets. It will then be possible to reach the colony by rail all the way from Buenos Aires.

All the colony enterprises are located in the central town of Philadelphia, where thirty-five families live. Here is the colony building in which the *Oberschulz*, the responsible leader of the colony, has his office. Here also, is the saw mill, the oil press, the flour mill, the cotton gin, the co-operative store, the hospital, the printing shop, and the four-year high school. These institutions have all been established by the community as a whole. In the first years of the colony each settler had to give fifty days of labor in the year for the common good. It is only with the aid of such a sense of community solidarity that the remarkable progress has been achieved.⁵

Cultural life in the colony has been active from the beginning. In the very first year the construction of schools was begun and now every village has its elementary school. The four-year high school in Philadelphia trains teachers, bookkeepers, and secretaries, in addition to its other courses. There is also a well-organized active religious life with capable ministers and leaders. Congregations were organized in the very first days in each village and services have been held ever since, first in tents, later in the school buildings. A central church building seating over 500 persons has been constructed in Philadelphia.

Choruses were organized in almost every village. Within ten months after the arrival of the first settlers a large song festival was held in a great tent in which more than 200 singers took part before an audience

of over 700. Since then festivals of various kinds have been held in which the entire colony joins. Young people's groups have been organized in all the villages, and an annual conference is held every August. A traveling library was established in 1934 and each local group gets its box of books periodically from the book-center.

An outstanding need of the colony has been a doctor.⁶ Although a hospital and dispensary were constructed at Philadelphia, the nearest doctor is located 150 miles distant at Puerto Casado. Trachoma has increased to such an extent that now thirty percent of the people are afflicted with the disease. Malaria is still a chronic problem and other health situations require the presence of a doctor with training in medicine, surgery, and public health.

Regarded in comparison with a prosperous farming community in the Mississippi valley the Fernheim colony seems relatively primitive, but in terms of their original situation, cut off from contact with the outside world, settlers in a virgin wilderness, they have come a long way on the road to final stability.

QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

1. Discuss steps which can be taken in a country of temporary refuge where a substantial number of refugees are waiting for final arrangements for settlement overseas. In the light of later experience, discuss what might have been done in this situation.
2. How could the reception of the immigrants have been facilitated in the receiving country by more complete preparation? Suppose the representative would have had the opportunity to work with a small, select group of nationals or of the settlers in order to prepare basic essentials for the arrival of the larger group. What kind of work could they have initiated in order to prevent unnecessary hardship and great hazards for the new arrivals?
3. Discuss a plan of providing a new settlement of foreign born emigrants with a technical adviser familiar with local conditions for a transition period. What are the advantages and disadvantages of engaging the services of a competent national, e.g., an experienced agriculturist, for such an undertaking? Where could he be found in a situation such as that described in the record?
4. What factors contributed to the successful development of the settlement?
5. Do you consider the colony's common enterprise typical for any new settlement of approximately the same size? Should such enterprises be included in group settlement planning irrespective of the type of settlers in question? Can you add any other essential community services?
6. How can a settlement community as described obtain and afford the services of at least one physician? Discuss various methods of recruiting a competent professional person and of financing his services.

Concluding Note: Goals for International Relief

What are the goals for international relief? We have seen that its service may cover a wide range of vastly different activities. In some programs service agencies have introduced substantial quantities of commodities into a receiving community for cash, or credit, or as a gift, regulating in detail the operations and procedures of internal distribution down to the ultimate consumer. In some programs there has been very little direct contact with the people in trouble, as individuals; in others a great deal of personal service was given them. Sometimes existing social agencies and institutions have been helped to resume or expand their traditional functions; sometimes new temporary services have been developed which left practically no trace when the foreign unit was gone. Some programs have been built around the importation of goods; others around the importation of men and women offering friendship, technical skills, and leadership, as an essential element of service developed in close co-operation with national groups. In addition to huge quantities of food, imported commodities have included laboratory equipment, medical supplies, seeds and fertilizer, industrial and agricultural machinery, building materials, cloth and clothing, and even such items as buttons and thread, and books and toys. Imported skills have included a liberal representation of techniques ranging from agricultural reform to city planning, from the demonstration of modern methods of recreation to the establishment of credit co-operatives, from the administration of a community kitchen to the development of native industries.

Obviously international relief has a quite different meaning from the usual dictionary connotation of relief: "Aid in the form of money or necessities for indigent persons." In one short term—often misunderstood—it comprehends a vastly complicated mechanism facilitating the controlled importation of skills and commodities into needy countries which, as a result of war conditions, do not have normal supplies, or normal credit in international markets to meet independently their own needs for manpower and material.

How shall we use this mechanism? Shall it be a weapon of total war, or shall it furnish essential material for building a more permanent peace? If international relief is an instrument which may be used for different purposes, depending upon the objectives of the user, then we must in good time define objectives which, as individuals, as potential members of a service unit, and as a supporting community, we can accept as sound. Without such objectives we shall lack direction at many crossroads where we must make choices.

International relief is the volunteer contribution of organized international aid to social reconstruction. The goal of social reconstruction is the welfare of Man.

Under the impact of war, Man everywhere has suffered great loss

spiritually and physically. Social reconstruction may help him towards recovery and rebuilding. It offers organized services to the millions so that each individual among them may find the right response to bitter needs which he cannot meet alone; so that each individual may have a chance to recover from crippling blows of war and persecution and may yet reach his own best level in creative living.

Some of the services in health, welfare, education, and many allied fields have long been part of the traditional equipment of all national communities. Theirs will be the major task of social reconstruction. In deep humility and in outgoing love we can but assist them by international aid. Within each national community some traditional services have been inadequate in meeting common prewar needs; others have been excellent, but not evenly distributed, and where available, to limited groups only; others have been handicapped by severe lack of technicians or funds.

Many services have been deeply affected by war conditions, weakened or destroyed, deprived of income, of leadership. They may not be able to resume operations at the moment of greatest demand for their help without international assistance. They may need repair and rebuilding, new leaders and new supplies. They may even need for a while and for defined and limited service supplementary units, possibly of foreign workers, whose plans and programs have been carefully fitted into a common approach to a continuing national and international task.

Jointly temporary and permanent service units will offer care and counseling, protection and treatment to meet in the most effective way widespread needs of malnutrition, of physical and mental injuries, of destroyed incomes, homes, families, loyalties. Foreign aid to social reconstruction may greatly speed and strengthen these processes and bring vitalizing skills and supplies to them for wise investment in line with a distinctive social goal.

Better manpower—because of improved physical and mental capacity for work—may well result from adequate health measures, nutrition services, counseling and guidance, training and work schemes, from intelligent care of the young deprived of family protection: a useful and important contribution to economic reconstruction. The central goal, however, will spring from faith in the supremacy of personal values applied to the concrete challenge of our day: rehabilitation of Man himself, so that all men in all countries may have a greater chance and freedom to function on their highest level in all areas of their responsibility:

In the family area—as provider, as the educator of the young, and as the anchor of emotional security and stability.

In the economic area—as manager, producer, and consumer.

In the political area—as the vital cell of an ordered community, as leader or willing follower in national and international co-operation. Such men will build for peace.

Appendix

I. Suggestions for a Course in International Aid to Social Reconstruction

A. OUTLINE OF A SEMESTER PLAN

Some instructors or leaders of study groups may wish to develop an entire sequence of discussions in this area. It is suggested that selected records and other sections of this book may be used for such an integrated program covering the following topics in a highly concentrated way.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Session 1 Goals, methods, definitions

SUGGESTED RECORDS

See Introductory and
Concluding Notes

3, 27, 44, 49, 50

Session 2 The people, the setting

Session 3 Sponsoring agencies; public, private,
international, national

See Notes on Agencies

Session 4 History of foreign aid to social reconstruction

See Selected References

ILLUSTRATIVE SERVICE PROGRAMS

Session 5 Providing food and clothing

1/15, 4/5, 6/10

Session 6 Providing food and clothing

7, 8, 14

Session 7 Shelter, housing

16, 18

Session 8 Health and sanitation

20, 23

Session 9 Child care

25, 27

Session 10 Work services

29, 31, 34

Session 11 Education and recreation, leadership

35, 39, 43

Session 12 Survey of displacement problems and
methods of relocation

See Selected References

Session 13 Migration services

45, 46, 47

Session 14 Repatriation

48, 50, 51

Session 15 Group resettlement

52, 53, 57

B. ASPECTS FOR DISCUSSION

Although a number of questions have been attached to each record, it may be useful to point out some general aspects of exploration—applicable to any service program—around which fruitful discussions can be developed.

I. *Needs and resources*

Analysis of common needs

Other needs in the wake of war and disorganization

Symptoms and characteristics of different needs

Causes of needs

Methods of investigation

Sources of information

Care of the needy

Treatment—prevention of further need

Anticipation of common needs

Resources for care and service

Resources of the individual, self help

Neighborhood and group resources

Organized community resources

Resources of the foreign community

Resources of the American community related to similar needs

2. *People in need of service*

Attitudes, experiences; reactions to need

Selection of the most needy

Proof of need

Continued need during service

Proof of satisfied need

Excluding people from further service

Measurement of results

3. *Communities in need of service*

Selection of the needy community

Methods and techniques of community investigation

Usual American methods

Emergency procedures

Comparative study of sources of information

Concepts of need related to communities

Concept of self help related to communities

Community responsibilities in relation to foreign aid

Foreign aid responsibilities toward the national and local community

Co-operative community rebuilding

4. *Development and operation of a service plan under specific conditions*

Adjustment of traditional patterns of service to the local setting

Advantages of standard patterns

Advantages of a flexible approach

Implications of choices

Temporary aid versus contribution to continuous service

Independent versus joint service unit

General versus specialized service

Test of plan in light of needs

Primary and secondary needs

Priority of specific needs

Test of plan in light of available resources

Manpower (skills) of own unit

Supplies

Actual and potential services of other agencies

Test of plan in light of service objectives

Immediate objectives

Long range objectives

Structure and organization of operating unit

Centralization

Decentralization

Extension services

Mobile units

Phases of Operation

Initiation of service

Growth and development

Tapering off, closing
Transfer to other authorities
Physical base of operation
Points of contact with people to be served
Selection of location and premises
Layout and equipment
Office procedure

5. *Personnel as a factor in service.*

Desirable attitudes
Desirable skills
 Managerial
 Professional
 Technical
 Manual
 Languages
Desirable Experience
Recruiting and training of workers
Orientation to the foreign setting
Work conditions in the field
Proportion of foreign to national staffs
Role of the volunteer
Problems in international collaboration
Relation of field staff and home office
Methods of long distance control

6. *Supplies as a factor in service*

Selection (types, quantity, quality)
Ordering and purchasing
Shipping to distribution points
Warehousing, storage
Protection
Accounting and control

II. Notes on Agencies*

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR DEVASTATED FRANCE (1918-1924)

In June, 1917, the American Committee for Devastated France began its activities by operating military canteens and assisting the returning inhabitants of the Aisne section in the restoration of their homes. Following an initial pattern of emergency services to provide housing, food, clothing, child care, and agricultural aid, the committee developed a program of social reconstruction and agricultural rehabilitation which involved the building of schoolhouses, libraries, the organization of community centers, the promotion of public health and child welfare programs, and the encouragement of farm co-operatives and rural education. By the close of its activities in April, 1924, the committee had disbursed over \$5,000,000 in military and civilian services.

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE; 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania; Clarence E. Pickett, Executive Secretary.

Formed April 1, 1917, to represent the Society of Friends in the fields of social action, the American Friends Service Committee now engages in a wide range of foreign and domestic projects to express the Quaker belief in the power of constructive goodwill to take away the occasion of war. During and after World War I the AFSC carried on extensive relief operations, independently and co-operatively with English Friends and other relief organizations, in France, Germany, Austria, Russia, and other European countries. The AFSC is an incorporated body of four hundred members with an executive board of seventeen, operating with funds derived principally from private individuals, organizations, and foundations. Through its Foreign Service Section it is now occupied abroad in child-feeding, refugee aid, and other practical relief services to civilians. Other sections carry on domestic activities in the fields of Civilian Public Service, peace education, international fellowship, social-industrial relations, and clothing assistance.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE; 270 Madison Avenue, New York 16, New York; Joseph C. Hyman, Executive Vice-Chairman.

Organized late in 1914 as a distributing agency for funds raised by three American Jewish relief agencies to assist European Jews, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC) expends funds in 52 countries, working through its own field staff and many local representatives and committees. To the end of 1943 the JDC had distributed more than \$130,000,000 in a varied program of relief, rescue, and rehabilitation for needy Jewish populations in Central and Eastern Europe and North Africa, for emigration of refugees from Europe to the Western Hemisphere and Palestine, for refugee care and rehabilitation in many lands, including Central and South America. Relief services consist of food, clothing, shelter, medical aid, child care, and cultural assistance; and rehabilitation activities include vocational re-training, economic help, loan co-operatives, and many other forms of constructive aid. Since 1939 its fund-raising activities have been merged with the United Palestine Appeal and the National Refugee Service to form the United Jewish Appeal.

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS; 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington 13, D.C.; Norman H. Davis, Chairman of the Central Committee.

First organized in July, 1881, by Clara Barton, under the title of the American Association of the Red Cross, the American National Red Cross now occupies a unique place as a popularly supported yet semi-governmental agency acting in accordance with

*Agencies listed include, in the main, those previously mentioned in the records.

the various Geneva Conventions of 1864, 1906, and 1929, which define the rights and duties of Red Cross societies and the sick, wounded, and prisoners of war in time of war, and under a charter from Congress (1905). Its annual reports are made to Congress and transmitted by the President of the United States, who is the official president of the organization. Its charter obligations are to provide volunteer aid to sick and wounded in wartime and to carry on a system of national and international relief in time of peace. As an essential auxiliary of the armed forces the ARC carried on in World War I and now carries on a great variety of services, while in the postwar and interwar periods it functioned particularly as a disaster, health, and educational agency. International affiliations exist with the International Red Cross Committee (*q. v.*) and the League of Red Cross Societies (*q. v.*).

AMERICAN JUNIOR RED CROSS, American National Red Cross; 17th and D Streets, N.W., Washington 13, D.C.; Norman H. Davis, Chairman of the Central Committee.

The American Junior Red Cross is the division of the American National Red Cross, consisting of some 15,000,000 school children, operating in the various public, parochial, and private schools of the country. It was created by proclamation of President Wilson in 1917, and in this war and the last, as well as in the interim period, has carried on a wide variety of group projects, including: services to the armed forces and to veterans' hospitals, war relief activities, war on waste, home nursing, disaster relief, first aid and accident prevention, services to blind children, and other community services. Many other national Red Cross societies have set up similar Junior Red Cross sections with the same general purposes. Formation of additional Junior Red Cross sections is one of the functions of the League of Red Cross Societies (*q. v.*).

AMERICAN RELIEF ADMINISTRATION (1919-1923)

The American Relief Administration (A. R. A.) was formed by Herbert Hoover in February, 1919, at the direction of President Wilson, to distribute the official overseas relief from the United States during the Armistice Period, particularly the supplies furnished under the \$100,000,000 Congressional appropriation for relief in Europe. The buying and shipping of all relief supplies was done through the Food Administration Grain Corporation, a subsidiary of the United States Food Administration. In many respects the A. R. A. became the international branch of the United States Food Administration, which had been set up by President Wilson on August 14, 1917, with Hoover as director, to economize food supplies in the United States and to create a single selling agency to handle food deliveries to the Allied countries.

Following the signing of the Armistice, inter-Allied machinery was set up to co-ordinate relief operations, with Hoover as Director General. In practice, however, Hoover's function as director of relief arose from his position as head of the A. R. A. which played the major role in the entire relief program until the signing of the Peace Treaty at Versailles, June 28, 1919. That date marked the end of inter-Allied collaboration, and from that time on the A. R. A. and the Grain Corporation were engaged in liquidating commitments.

To continue relief for the undernourished children of Europe Hoover organized a completely private organization in July, 1919, the American Relief Administration European Children's Fund (known as E. C. F.), which took over the equipment and personnel of the A. R. A. and the Grain Corporation as they withdrew from the field. It continued their work without a break in the program, feeding some 10,000,000 children in all. Under the division of Special Funds the E. C. F. carried on extensive intelligentsia and student relief, as well as other forms of adult relief. In January, 1920, a separate but correlated organization was set up, with Hoover as head, known as the American Relief Administration Warehouses (A. R. A. W.), which handled all food draft and bulk sale operations during the existence of E. C. F.

INTERNATIONAL RELIEF IN ACTION

Finally the Russian famine made expansion necessary and the old title of American Relief Administration was again adopted in May, 1921, and kept until the close of operations in July, 1923. Funds handled in the last two phases amounted to over \$220,000,000 and were obtained from the profits of the Grain Corporation (which were turned over to the E. C. F.), millions of private contributions, contributions from organizations and foundations, and Congressional appropriations.

AMERICAN WOMEN'S HOSPITALS; War and Medical Service Committee, American Medical Women's Association, 50 West 50th Street, New York 20, New York; Esther Pohl Lovejoy, M. D., Chairman.

The American Women's Hospitals (A. W. H.) was organized in June, 1917, by the War Service Committee of the Medical Women's National Association (now called American Medical Women's Association) for the care of the sick and wounded during the war. In the postwar period medical relief services were continued and expanded in scope, in some areas independently, in some by furnishing trained personnel to work co-operatively with other relief organizations, as in Armenia where the A.W.H. co-operated with Near East Relief. Activities in the past few years have been confined to hospital and health services in the Near East, and to service in rural mountain areas in the United States. Since the outbreak of war the A. W. H. has again participated in the relief of sick and injured, especially civilians, in countries such as Greece, England, and China.

BRETHREN SERVICE COMMITTEE; 22 South State Street, Elgin, Illinois; M. R. Zigler, Executive Secretary.

In 1939 the Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren placed the relief activities of the Board of Christian Education and the General Mission Board under the administration of a new body now known as the Brethren Service Committee. Two years later this committee was reorganized with an enlarged personnel drawn not only from the various committees of the church but also from the church as a whole and with broadened functions to include "personal rehabilitation and social reconstruction." It has shared in the administration of the Civilian Public Service Camps and has carried on relief activities in China, India, and several European and Latin American countries.

THE CENTRAL BUREAU FOR INTER-CHURCH AID; 37 Quai Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland; Dr. Adolf Keller, Executive Secretary.

American office, 297 Fourth Avenue New York 10, N.Y.; Rev. William H. Foulkes, Chairman.

The Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid, formerly known as the Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe, is an international and interdenominational agency of the Protestant Churches for inter-church aid.

It was founded in Copenhagen in 1922 at a conference of European and American churchmen and endorsed by a special conference of American church representatives called together in New York in the same year under the auspices of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.

In 1934 it was formally authenticated as the "relief arm" of the Universal Christian Council for Life and Work, and re-authenticated by the Provisional Committee of the World Council of Churches (in formation) after the Ecumenical Conference at Oxford in 1937.

The Central Bureau was organized primarily to rebuild church organizations so that they could aid in the reconstruction of European community life; its interest in international relief and welfare administration is, therefore, indirect.

The American Office of the Central Bureau is an officially approved agency for war relief and receives the financial support of the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction (*q.v.*) In 1942 it distributed over \$92,000 in food and other aid chiefly to refugees through its own offices in Geneva and Lisbon and through the International Red Cross, the Near East Foundation, the Greek War Relief Association, the Unitarian and the American Friends Service Committees and the War Prisoners Aid of the Y.M.C.A.

THE CHURCH COMMITTEE ON OVERSEAS RELIEF AND RECONSTRUCTION; 297 Fourth Avenue, New York City, N. Y.; Leslie B. Moss, Executive Director.

This committee, representing most of the Protestant denominations in the United States and some Canadian churches as well, was established jointly by the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference of North America in Cleveland in December, 1942. Superseding a previous Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals, this committee coordinates the relief appeals and the distribution of funds raised by the Protestant churches, the selection and training of personnel for overseas service. It also represents American churches in their contacts with the United States Government on matters of relief and rehabilitation and is authorized to work out plans for collaboration with church leaders of other lands in the reconstruction effort. The committee works closely, for instance, with the Central Bureau for European Inter-Church Aid, which has an American committee to transmit relief funds for refugee ministers and others abroad.

Through the Church Committee on Overseas Relief and Reconstruction it was anticipated that \$1,850,000 would be raised for welfare relief and reconstruction abroad during the 1943-44 church year. Of this sum, the War-Time Service Commission of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., for example, expected to contribute \$377,000.

Eight Christian relief agencies, including the Church Committee for China Relief and its branch in China, the American Advisory Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the Central Bureau for Inter-Church Aid, and War Prisoners Aid, were selected in 1943 to receive allocations from the budget of the Church Committee to conduct their service operations. Through the Church Committee for China Relief, two hundred Catholic and Protestant missions in China were aided in their activities. Contacts were also being maintained with the Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China and with the National Christian Councils of China and other countries in Asia and Africa.

The Church Committee is exempted from registration under the President's War Relief Control Board, (*q.v.*) and, although it helps to support many of the same operating agencies aided through the National War Fund, it remains free to conduct its fund-raising campaigns.

THE COMMISSION FOR RELIEF IN BELGIUM (1914-1919)

The Commission for Relief in Belgium (C. R. B.) was established October 22, 1914, under the direction of Herbert Hoover, to import food for the populations of the occupied regions of Belgium and, later, of northern France, for the duration of the war. The C. R. B. was a neutral civilian organization with mainly an American staff, working with all the belligerents. Operations were protected en route and in Europe by important international agreements. The actual internal distribution of relief supplies was carried out by a Belgian and a French committee (*Comité National de Secours et d'Alimentation* and *Comité d'Alimentation du Nord de la France*), assisted by numerous district and local committees. Working capital came from government funds, while the profits from the provisioning operations were added to world

charity donations to provide over \$187,000,000 for benevolent purposes, also distributed under the direction of C. R. B. The commission, which remained in active operation until August 31, 1919, when the Belgian and French governments were able to take care of their own people, handled over \$681,000,000 of provisioning supplies.

THE COMMONWEALTH FUND; 41 East 57th Street, New York 22, New York; Barry C. Smith, General Director.

Endowed in 1918 by Mrs. Stephen V. Harkness as a general charitable foundation "to do something for the welfare of mankind," the Fund has concentrated largely in the fields of education and health, including medical education and research, mental hygiene, and hospitals in rural districts in America. The Fund is not primarily organized to conduct relief and reconstruction work abroad. Its chief contribution to such work was an extensive program in strengthening the health services of Austria, 1923-1929, and numerous donations for purposes of middle-class and intelligentsia relief in European countries during the post-war period.

THE DOMINICAN REPUBLIC SETTLEMENT ASSOCIATION; 50 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York; Joseph A. Rosen, Honorary President.

The Dominican Republic Settlement Association (Dorsa) was formed October, 1939, to resettle Central European refugees in the Sosua region on the north coast of the Dominican Republic. It has been financed for the most part by the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint), which had resettled over 50,000 families in Russia. By the end of 1941 approximately 500 persons had been located in Sosua. The developments of the war have temporarily prevented expansion of the settlement.

FRIENDS' AMBULANCE UNIT; 4, Gordon Square, London, W. C.1, England; A. Tegla Davies, Chairman.

In 1914-1918 an unofficial group of British Friends organized the Friends Ambulance Unit (FAU) to undertake medical ambulance and other medical work abroad during the war. In 1939 FAU was again organized by individual Friends, as an unofficial organization to provide alternative service for religious conscientious objectors of all denominations. Its staff of seven hundred men and women has administered medical and other welfare services through units in Finland, Norway, Egypt, Greece, Syria, North Africa, India, Ethiopia, and China, as well as civilian relief work in England. In 1942 its civilian relief section, which had been financed by the Friends' War Victims Relief Committee (*q.v.*) since November, 1940, was amalgamated with that body to form the Friends' War Relief Service. The overseas services of the FAU continued to be distinct, however. In some cases its work has been carried on with military personnel and under military supervision but the FAU also serves civilian groups, as it has done in Ethiopia, Syria, India, and China.

HADASSAH; 1819 Broadway, New York 23, New York; (Miss) Jeannette N. Leibel, Executive Secretary.

Hadassah is the Women's Zionist Organization of America, formed in 1912 for the renaissance of Jewish life in America and the rebuilding of Palestine as a Jewish National Home. Through its 90,000 members organized into 650 chapters and groups, Hadassah has supported and administered an extensive program of public health, hospitalization, child welfare, land reclamation, and youth refugee service in Palestine. Health and child welfare activities are administered through the Hadassah Medical Organization, which maintains a separate fund-raising and governing body.

INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS COMMITTEE; 122, Rue de la Lausanne, Geneva, Switzerland; M. Max Huber, President.

The International Red Cross Committee was formed at Geneva in February, 1863, with five Swiss citizens as members, as a neutral, international committee to protect and promote Red Cross principles. Although its present membership of twenty-five is restricted by statute to Swiss citizens, the committee has been generally recognized from its inception as being strictly impartial, independent, and international in spirit and action. One of its principal functions has been to serve as a neutral intermediary between belligerents in time of war. It also promotes the adoption of international conventions for the alleviation of the suffering of war victims and it attempts to ensure the observance of the various Geneva Conventions regarding the treatment of the sick, wounded, and prisoners of war. It is the one international body empowered to recognize new Red Cross societies. Its Central Agency For Prisoners of War, in Geneva, is the medium through which information concerning war prisoners is exchanged by belligerent countries, and other welfare activities for prisoners administered. In 1940 the International Red Cross Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies (*q. v.*) formed the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross to further relief to civilian war sufferers.

The *International Red Cross*, a term often misapplied to the International Red Cross Committee, is not an official organization in the strict sense of the word. It consists of the national Red Cross societies as such, the International Red Cross Committee, and the League of Red Cross Societies (*q. v.*), co-operating through an International Conference, a Board of Delegates, and a Standing Commission. The International Conference, composed of delegates of the three groups mentioned above, together with delegates from the signatory powers to the Geneva Convention, meets every four years as the highest deliberative body of the International Red Cross, charged with ensuring unity among the activities of the three groups. It is the final authority as to differences or divisions of work between the International Red Cross Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies. Such questions are first submitted to the Standing Commission, a body of nine elected by the Conference, the League, and the International Committee, which also performs other co-ordinating functions. The Board of Delegates, composed of representatives from the Conference, the League, and the International Committee, meets with the Conference and arranges details of the sessions.

LEAGUE OF NATIONS; Geneva, Switzerland; Sean Lester (Eire), Acting Secretary-General.

The League of Nations was established in 1919 by the Treaty of Versailles as an association of governments to promote international co-operation. In addition to its more widely known political functions, the League has engaged in numerous social and humanitarian activities in the field of international relief. Through some sections of the Secretariat of the League and through special commissions and organizations created by the Council and the Assembly of the League extensive relief activities have been undertaken, involving mainly resettlement projects for Greeks, Armenians, Bulgarians, and Assyrians, repatriation of war prisoners, and various services for refugees. Prominent among such projects have been the resettlement of Greek refugees by the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission (*q. v.*) and to a lesser extent, the resettlement of Assyrians in Iraq by the Assyrian Committee of the Council of the League.

In 1921 the Council of the League established the post of high Commissioner for Russian Refugees, with Dr. Fridtjof Nansen as High Commissioner. Many services were developed for refugees including the first international identity certificate generally known as the Nansen Passport, issued to Russian and (later) Armenian ref-

ugees in lieu of a passport. In 1925 the technical aspects of refugee services were transferred to the International Labour Office, the High Commissioner retaining the legal, political, and financial aspects. In 1931, a year after the death of Nansen, the Assembly of the League created the Nansen International Office for Refugees, which was to terminate the refugee work and be liquidated finally December 31, 1938. The post of High Commissioner was abolished and the supreme authority was to be exercised by a Governing Body, with a President to be nominated by the Assembly. A second League organization was set up in 1933 specifically to aid German refugees, called the High Commission for Refugees (Jewish and Other) Coming from Germany, quite autonomous and not responsible to the League. Both these organizations were amalgamated at the end of 1938 into a new organization for refugee aid under a single "High Commissioner for Refugees Under the Protection of the League of Nations," with Sir Herbert Emerson as first High Commissioner. This organization, with headquarters at London, soon co-ordinated its efforts with the Inter-governmental Committee to aid refugees established by the Evian Conference (called by President Roosevelt and held at Evian-les-Bains, France, in July, 1938, with thirty-two nations represented), especially after Sir Herbert Emerson also became director of the Inter-governmental Committee in February, 1939.

Activities of the League have been restricted by the present conflict, but most of the sections are still located in Geneva, where they carry on a limited service. The Financial and Transit Department of the Secretariat has been transferred to Princeton, New Jersey, where an office has been established at the Institute for Advanced Study. The Opium Section has been transferred to Washington. The supervisory body of the League which was authorized to act in the emergency in the place of the Council and the Assembly met in Canada recently and adopted an annual budget of almost a million dollars.

GREEK REFUGEE SETTLEMENT COMMISSION, League of Nations (1923-1930)

The Greek Refugee Settlement Commission was set up by the Council of the League of Nations in 1923, at the suggestion of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees, to assist the resettlement of 1,250,000 Greek refugees from Asia Minor. The commission, using a loan of £12,000,000, provided houses, carried out land reclamation, furnished the refugees with stock and seed corn, set up model farms, instructed the refugees in modern agricultural methods, and founded new industries. The commission was assisted by both the Health Organization of the League and private charity. In 1930 the commission turned its work over to the Greek Government.

LEAGUE OF RED CROSS SOCIETIES; Geneva, Switzerland; M. B. de Rougé, Secretary General; Admiral Cary T. Grayson, Chairman of the Board of Governors.

The League of Red Cross Societies is the federation of national Red Cross Societies formed in 1919, with headquarters at Geneva. Its prime function is the promotion and stimulation of Red Cross activities within the national societies. Control is vested in a Board of Governors composed of one representative from each national society (now numbering sixty), which meets every two years, and an Executive Committee of nine members selected from the Board, which meets every six months. The continuing work of the League is accomplished through its Secretariat, which maintains contact with the national societies through correspondence, visits, and the supplying of films and printed materials. The Pan American Bureau of the League has been especially active in helping Latin American societies, particularly in civilian defense, nursing, first aid, and Junior Red Cross activities. In 1940 the League joined with the International Red Cross Committee (*q. v.*) to form the Joint Relief Commission of the International Red Cross to aid civilian war victims.

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE; Akron, Pennsylvania; Orie O. Miller, Executive Secretary.

The Mennonite Central Committee was organized September, 1920, to centralize the relief activities of several Mennonite groups, especially in reference to the Russian famine work, where it operated under the name of American Mennonite Relief. The committee later expanded the scope of its activities to include the resettlement of Russian co-religionists in Paraguay, and also feeding, clothing, health, and child welfare activities in Poland, France, England, India, and Puerto Rico. Essentially a service committee for Mennonite groups in the United States and Canada, it has added various non-relief functions, such as operating Civilian Public Service Camps, and carrying on peace education.

THE NANTAO AREA SUPERVISORY COMMITTEE (1937-1938)

The Nantao Area Supervisory Committee was formed through the efforts of Father Jacquinot de Bœsange, S. J., in November, 1937, to create and maintain a special neutral zone in Nantao (the native city of Greater Shanghai) for the protection of over 200,000 Chinese refugees. The committee, composed of seven residents of Shanghai representing four nationalities, was recognized by the Japanese military authorities and provided basic feeding, clothing, medical, housing, and police services for the refugees. The committee used Franciscan Sisters from the Convent of the Sacred Heart, Jesuit priests, members of the International Red Cross Committee, and refugees themselves at the outset; later it co-ordinated the work of service organizations such as the National Child Welfare Association, the Red Swastika Society, and others to aid the refugees.

NEAR EAST RELIEF (1915-1930)

In September, 1915, a temporary Armenian Relief Committee was organized to raise funds for the relief of Armenians in Turkey. Two months later it merged with similar Persian and Palestine-Syrian Committees to form the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief (later known as the American Committee for Relief in the Near East). In 1919 the Committee was incorporated by an act of Congress, with a Congressional charter, as the Near East Relief, to provide for the relief and rehabilitation of the peoples of the Near East and the surrounding territories. It gradually united other relief organizations formed for the same purposes and working in the same general areas. It also entered into co-operative working relations with the American Red Cross. The activities of Near East Relief, including feeding, clothing, housing, care of orphans, health, medical care, and economic rehabilitation, affected 1,500,000 refugees and involved the training of 140,000 orphans and the administering of \$116,000,000. Although there were some changes in the scope and variety of relief operations, the organization of the Near East Relief remained substantially the same until February, 1930, when the agency was reorganized, at the request of its trustees, and incorporated as the Near East Foundation (*q. v.*).

NEAR EAST FOUNDATION; 17 West 46th Street, New York 19, New York E. C. Miller, Executive Secretary.

The Near East Foundation was incorporated February 12, 1930, as the successor to Near East Relief (*q. v.*) to continue its work in the care and training of orphans, but mainly to improve conditions in the rural areas of the Near East. It has operated over one hundred projects in seven eastern Mediterranean countries, with special attention given to training native personnel, and to incorporating the projects into the general community life. Activities are still being carried on in Greece and other countries.

OFFICE OF FOREIGN RELIEF AND REHABILITATION OPERATIONS (1942-1943)

The Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations (OFRRO) was created in the Department of State by President Roosevelt November 21, 1942, to supply food and other basic necessities to populations liberated from the Axis powers, and to assist them in restoring their own production of essential goods and services as soon as possible. OFRRO worked in close information liaison with the Inter-Allied Committee on Postwar Requirements (known as the Leith-Ross Committee) in England. Reprovisioning operations were carried on in North Africa using supplies from the Lend-Lease Administration. In Sicily and southern Italy OFRRO made surveys preparatory to operations following the work of the Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories (AMG). By Executive Order of September 25, 1943, OFRRO was transferred from the State Department to the newly created Office of Foreign Economic Administration which centralized the Office of Lend-Lease Administration, the Office of Economic Warfare, and OFRRO.

Most of the personnel of OFRRO were transferred to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (*q.v.*).

THE PRESIDENT'S WAR RELIEF CONTROL BOARD; Washington Building, Washington 5, D.C.; James S. Bruno, Executive Secretary.

An executive order of July 25, 1942, authorized the establishment of the President's War Relief Control Board as a successor to the President's Committee on War Relief Agencies which had been set up in March, 1941, for the purpose of "controlling in the public interest charities for foreign and domestic relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and welfare arising from war-created needs."

With certain exceptions, including the American Red Cross, the Board is directed to register and issue licenses to all persons and agencies engaged in the soliciting of funds, goods and services for wartime relief in the United States or in foreign countries, including "refugee relief, relief of the civilian population of the United States affected by enemy action and the relief and welfare of the armed forces of the United States or of their dependents." Its powers do not extend over local charitable agencies continuing in "activities of a normal and usual character nor . . . to intra-state activities other than those immediately affecting the war effort."

In addition to issuing licenses, the Board may "regulate and coordinate the times and amount of fund-raising appeals, define and promulgate ethical standards of solicitation and collection of funds and contributions in kind, require accounts of receipts and expenditures duly and reliably audited, and such other records and reports as the Board may deem to be in the public interest, eliminate or merge such agencies in the interests of efficiency and take such steps as may be necessary for the protection of essential local charities."

Members of the board, consisting of a chairman and two others, serve without compensation and are empowered to call upon personnel from the Department of State and other governmental departments in accordance with their needs. The staff consists of a general council and an executive secretary who, together with the board, are directed to submit periodic reports and recommendations to the President regarding war charities, relief and welfare in foreign countries and in the United States and to publish information concerning the relationship of public and private organizations, resources and programs. It has been particularly interested in publicizing the ratios of administrative and overhead costs to amounts placed in actual relief by the several organizations registered with it.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION; 49 West 49th Street, New York 20, New York; (Mrs.) Norma S. Thompson, Secretary.

Endowed by the John D. Rockefeller family in 1913 with \$100,000,000 to promote the wellbeing of mankind throughout the world, the Rockefeller Foundation has carried on projects of long-range rather than temporary significance in the medical, natural, and social sciences, and in the humanities and public health. Generally not an operating agency, through its International Health Division it has co-operated with many foreign governments in the development of public health activities and the study and control of certain diseases (at present especially those relating to war). During World War I, through a special War Relief Commission, the Foundation carried on a considerable program of feeding, clothing, and medical services, both independently and in co-operation with the American National Red Cross and other service agencies.

THE SAVE THE CHILDREN INTERNATIONAL UNION (UNION INTERNATIONALE DE SECOURS AUX ENFANTS); 15 Rue Levrier, Geneva, Switzerland.

The Save the Children International Union was founded January 6, 1920, by the English Save the Children Fund and the Swiss Save the Children Committee, under the patronage of the International Committee of the Red Cross (*q.v.*), to unite the efforts of the associations of different countries wishing to help the child victims of war and its consequences. The initiative in its formation was taken by Miss Eglantyne Jebb, co-founder with her sister, Mrs. C. R. Buxton, of the Save the Children Fund in Great Britain in May, 1919. Other associations soon joined the S.C.I.U., including the Swedish Föreningen Rudda Barnen (formed November, 1919), and the French Committee of Save the Children in Europe (formed December, 1919).

In its first years the union gave grants of funds to organizations operating in the field, but it eventually found itself obliged to undertake direct administration of relief, and by 1925 its representatives had provided emergency relief mainly in the form of child feeding, in Russia, the Balkans, Central Europe, and the Near East. Since then the Union has concerned itself with the broader and more permanent aspects of child welfare, through such activities as the establishment of model institutions in countries where child welfare was insufficiently developed, the preparation of practical studies on questions of child welfare, the assistance of child refugees, and through efforts to secure international recognition for the "Declaration of Geneva", guaranteeing the rights of the child, which was finally endorsed by the League of Nations. Emergency relief needs have been provided for by grants to member organizations or operating agencies. All in all, by 1930 the union and its members had distributed relief amounting to more than \$20,000,000, a figure almost doubled by 1943.

Activities have continued during the war, though greatly curtailed, through twenty-two member and seventeen affiliated organizations representing twenty-six different countries, and close contact has been maintained with the International Red Cross (*q.v.*) and the League of Red Cross Societies (*q.v.*). In October, 1943, the union authorized the establishment in the United States of a War Emergency Advisory Section. The American member of the union is The Save The Children Federation, Incorporated, 1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

SECOURS QUAKER; 29 Boulevard d'Athènes, Marseilles, France; Lucien Cornil, President.

Secours Quaker was incorporated under French Law in 1941 as a French relief agency. Its officers and personnel are Frenchmen who have been closely associated with the French work of the American Friends Service Committee. In November,

1942, Secours Quaker took over the resources of the AFSC in France and has continued a limited program of child welfare and refugee relief.

SERBIAN CHILD WELFARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA (1919-1924)

The Serbian Child Welfare Association of America was formed in 1919 to amalgamate the activities of several American agencies engaged in relief work in Serbia. Co-operating with a Serbian Advisory Council and using mainly Serbian organizations and personnel together with American technical experts, the association carried on an extensive program of reconstruction in the fields of child welfare, education, and public health. Funds used represented a combination of American benevolence and Serbian governmental assistance, as well as aid from the American National Red Cross and the American Relief Administration. The work was gradually transferred to Jugoslav governmental and private welfare agencies by the end of 1924, when the association withdrew from the country.

SERBIAN JOINT SUPPLY COMMISSION (1919-1920)

The Serbian Joint Supply Commission was the official relief agency of the British government which distributed relief supplies to Serbia during the Armistice period under General Fortescue. It was one of several Allied missions which aided in the reprovisioning of Serbia in the postwar period. The commission operated co-operatively with the American National Red Cross in some sections, and generally used local committees to assist in the actual distribution. The commission also assisted financially in the establishment of the Serbian Child Welfare Association representing native Serbians, British, and Americans.

SHANGHAI MUNICIPAL COUNCIL; International Settlement, Shanghai, China.

The Shanghai Municipal Council was the governing body of the International Settlement, one of the municipal areas of Greater Shanghai. The council was organized under the Land Regulations, a sort of loose charter granted to the International Settlement in 1869, and was subject to the Court of Consuls provided in the same code. Until 1928 the council had a membership of 9, all foreigners; by 1930 it was increased to 14. Foreign members were elected by foreign voters. At the time of Japanese occupation the council consisted of 5 Chinese, 5 British, 2 American, and 2 Japanese members. Its work was assisted by 12 committees, corresponding to municipal departments, and was headed after 1925 by a Secretary-General.

UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION; 1344 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 25, D. C.; Director General, Herbert H. Lehman.

On November 9, 1943, plenipotentiaries representing forty-four United Nations and those nations and authorities associated with them in the war, signed the agreement establishing the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The next day the representatives of these nations met at Atlantic City, New Jersey, in the First Session of the Council established by the agreement, to provide for the organization of the administration and to lay down the broad policies to guide its activities.

The Council discussed the steps needed to make effective the determination of the forty-four nations to bring speedy relief to populations liberated by the armed forces of the United Nations. This involves supplying the suffering peoples with food, clothing, and shelter, aiding in the prevention of pestilence and in their recovery of health, and making preparation and arrangements for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of urgently needed services.

The Council formulated policies defining the scope of activities to be undertaken

by UNRRA, the procedures for obtaining supplies and distributing the burden as equitably as possible, the methods for assuring equitable apportionment and distribution of supplies, as well as other questions relating more particularly to the administration of relief and rehabilitation measures in the field and to relations with other governments and organizations. Finally, rules were set up to govern the conduct of the administration itself, so as to secure effective representation of the interested nations in the formulation of the policies of the administration and to facilitate the operations of the Director General in carrying out these policies.

The work of the Council resulted in a number of significant resolutions which will guide the development of the quickly expanding agency.

THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE FOR THE CARE OF EUROPEAN CHILDREN; 215 Fourth Avenue, New York 3, N.Y.; (Miss) M. Ingeborg Olsen, Acting Director.

The United States Committee for the Care of European Children was organized in June, 1940, to meet the need for a central organization to avoid the confusion and duplication of effort in finding American homes for European children seeking refuge from the dangers of war. At a meeting called by Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt June 25, 1940, in New York, representatives from national refugee agencies, sectarian and denominational groups, educational groups, civic, fraternal, and professional groups, social service organizations, and groups associated with war relief activities formed the committee, which was incorporated the following month.

The committee has coordinated the resources available in this country for the care of child victims of the war, first, by making necessary arrangements with government bodies for their admission, and, second, by finding homes for them and assuring their proper care. The committee must post a bond for each child evacuated to this country; technically the children are under the guardianship of the Attorney General of the United States until they become of age; and the committee must file periodical progress reports on each child with the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. With very few exceptions the children have been placed in foster homes; none are eligible for adoption until after the close of hostilities. The Child Care Division of the Committee provides for the review of homes and the placement and supervision of children through private child-caring agencies designated by the Children's Bureau.

Nearly two thousand children in all have been placed in American homes through the work of the committee, the great majority of them evacuated from England before the British government suspended such evacuation in October, 1940. While the Committee has continued to supervise the care of the evacuated children in this country, since 1941 the American Friends Service Committee (*q.v.*) has been its representative abroad, responsible for the selection of the children and, in cooperation with the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (*q.v.*), responsible for their evacuation. Since 1941 four hundred children have been evacuated from Europe under these auspices. The future activities of the United States Committee are subject to adjustment according to the changing war conditions abroad.

WAR VICTIMS RELIEF COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS (1914-1923). FRIENDS RELIEF SERVICE COMMITTEE; Friends House, Euston Road, London, N. W. 1, England; Roger Wilson, Executive Secretary.

The War Victims Relief Committee of the Society of Friends was the official relief organization of the English Friends in the war and postwar period. Set up September 4, 1914, by the standing executive committee (called the London Meeting For Sufferings) of the London Yearly Meeting of Friends (the official representative body of English Friends) to aid war victims in France, it eventually operated in nine European countries, performing a variety of relief services, sometimes independently,

sometimes co-operatively with the American Friends Service Committee (*q. v.*) and other relief organizations. In 1919 the Committee merged with the Emergency Committee for the Assistance of Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, and Turks in Distress to form the Emergency and War Victims Relief Committee of the Society of Friends, which then operated until the end of 1923, when its foreign work was taken over by the Friends Council for International Service.

In November, 1940, the Friends War Victims Relief Committee was again set up to canalize the corporate concern of English Friends for relief work. Until January, 1942, the Friends War Victims Relief Committee financed the English civilian relief work of the Friends Ambulance Unit (*q. v.*), when the two services were amalgamated into the Friends War Relief Service, although the overseas service of the FAU remained intact. In July, 1943, a further rearrangement of committees took place, in which the Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, the Post War Service Committee of the Friends Service Council, and the Friends War Relief Service all were merged into the Friends Relief Service Committee, with sections for home relief, refugee aid, and foreign relief. The purpose of the FRSC is to carry on the short term work of English Friends nationally and internationally now and during the postwar period. The relationship of the committee to the FAU remains the same as that maintained by the FWRS.

WORLD STUDENT SERVICE FUND; 8 West 40th Street, New York 18, New York; Wilhelmina M. Rowland, Executive Secretary.

The World Student Service Fund (W. S. S. F.) was formed in September, 1940, to unite two American student appeals: the Far Eastern Student Service Fund, organized in 1937 to aid needy Chinese students, and the European Student Service Fund, organized early in 1940 to combine existing appeals for European students. Since 1937 more than \$425,000 have been raised through these channels for World Student Relief. The W. S. S. F. is sponsored by the United States Section of the World's Student Christian Federation and the Student Service of America, Inc. Policy and program are democratically determined by representatives of sponsoring and co-operative organizations who compose the W. S. S. F. General Committee. Funds and goods are sent to various administering committees in China, Great Britain, Sweden, and to its main administering agency, the European Student Relief Fund, with headquarters in Geneva. Services include various types of relief to uprooted students in China, to student prisoners of war in Europe, Canada, and the Far East, to internees and refugees in Switzerland, France, and the United States, including aid to the Japanese American Student Relocation Council. The work of World Student Relief is done on a wholly international, non-political, and non-sectarian basis.

WORLD'S YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION; 37, Quai Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland; Temporary Office: 1155 Sixteenth Street, Washington 16, D. C.; (Miss) Ruth F. Woodsmall, General Secretary.

The World's Young Women's Christian Association was formed in England in 1894 with England, the United States, Norway, and Sweden as charter members, for the federation, development, and extension of Young Women's Christian Associations in all countries. National organizations in over thirty-five countries are now affiliated with the World's YWCA, which also acts in part as an information clearing house through committee meetings, conferences, visits, preparation courses for secretaries, correspondence, and international publications, using funds derived from quota contributions by the various affiliated associations as well as other donations. In 1921, to replace its own migration service, it organized the International Migration Service, an independent, non-sectarian, international organization to handle and study internationally the social problems resulting from migration. The World's YWCA is governed through a representative World's Council which meets biennially. In the

interim the direction of the work is entrusted to an Executive Committee of not less than seven members, including at least five nationalities, elected by the World's Council. Since 1930 headquarters have been located in Geneva.

WORLD'S ALLIANCE OF YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS; 37, Quai Wilson, Geneva, Switzerland; Temporary Address: 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York; Tracy Strong, General Secretary.

The World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations was formed in 1855 to unite the national associations of YMCA'S throughout the world. As its executive agent the Alliance has a representative World's Committee of 120 members, established in 1878, which acts as a co-ordinating agency between national movements in fifty countries, and, through research, publications, conferences, and practical work, assists generally in the development of the YMCA movement. The World's Alliance is further governed by a representative World Conference, which meets periodically, and an Executive Committee, which usually meets twice a year to carry out the decisions of the biennial meetings of the World's Committee. Prominent among welfare services carried on through the World's Committee have been those for prisoners of war. Through permission of the International Red Cross Committee (*q. v.*) recreational, educational, and religious activities have been carried on under the World's Committee War Prisoners Aid.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS, INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF; 347 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York; Eugene E. Barnett, General Secretary.

The International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations is the corporate body of the National Council of the YMCA in the United States and the agent for world service of the National Councils of the associations of both the United States and Canada. Although local YMCA's appeared in the United States as early as 1851, the International Committee as such dates from 1879. Its purpose has been to promote the well-being of young men, and it has carried on an extensive program of international service, involving at the outbreak of war in 1941 a foreign service staff of forty in twenty-four countries. An elaborate pattern of military and civilian service was developed in World War I under a special War Work Council. In the present conflict it is an agency of the United Service Organizations (USO). Through its War Prisoner's Aid Committee it assists the World's Committee of the YMCA (*q. v.*) in providing services for prisoners of war.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE NATIONAL BOARD; 600 Lexington Avenue, New York 22, New York; (Mrs.) Grace Loucks Elliott, General Secretary.

The National Board of the YWCA's of the U. S. A. was established in 1906 through the merger of the American Committee of the Young Women's Christian Association and the International Board of Women's and Young Women's Christian Associations to advance the physical, social, intellectual, moral, and spiritual interests of young women. Foreign service has generally been carried on through its Foreign Division, although in World War 1 an overseas staff of over 400, under a special War Work Council, conducted various services in ten foreign countries and furnished personnel to other relief agencies in the postwar period. In the present conflict it is an agency of the United Service Organizations (USO), and as such has been especially concerned with women and girls affected by army camp concentrations and defense industries. Activities have been conducted on behalf of refugees arriving from abroad, and through its World Emergency Fund it has aided associations in other countries in meeting the emergency demands created by war. The YWCA also participates in the work of the World's Young Women's Christian Association (*q. v.*) with which it is affiliated.

III. Selected References

The bibliography has been planned for students of different backgrounds and different levels of education, some of whom may be quite unfamiliar with the professional literature on social and health services. Some may not be in touch with well-equipped libraries and may wish to obtain a number of publications for permanent use. For this reason some emphasis has been given to the listing of government publications and other pertinent pamphlets available at low cost.

The selected titles are planned as an introduction to the general field of international relief administration and to a number of technical fields which enter into it. The titles are not supposed to cover any one field completely or in a thoroughly professional way, but they should allow the student to follow his particular interests.

The student of international relief administration will require a rather broad orientation to a wide range of topics. He will wish to become somewhat familiar with the background of cultures of the people in need in whose communities—urban and rural—he is planning to develop and operate a service (See Section I in the bibliography: *Backgrounds of Cultures*).

He must be able, moreover, to understand these people, not only in their traditions and in their normal settings, but also under conditions wherein the impact of war may have shattered their individual and community resources. Most of the blue-prints for post-war planning as they are now published bring vivid pictures of such conditions, so that it is appropriate to combine the literature on such planning with the surveys of present conditions (See Section II, *Impact of War*).

Undoubtedly, current and future services can benefit greatly from the history of earlier relief and rehabilitation activities. Most of these histories present the story from the point of view of the operating agency; very rarely does one show the meaning of the service to the devastated or disorganized community, in terms of the national group as a collaborator in such service (See Section III, *History of Services*).

The final section of the bibliography (IV. Standards, Principles, and Techniques of Services) includes a number of technical references, all of which relate to conditions and problems described in the records. This list might easily have been enlarged. It indicates a minimum of highly specialized approaches, all of which are necessary to contribute to the rebuilding of individuals and communities. Some knowledge of professional and technical standards of techniques developed by experts in each single field may help the relief worker to recognize the limitations of his own competence and encourage him to seek collaboration with technicians and their guidance wherever possible. The section was also planned to provide the reader with the knowledge of some of the best and most recent American and European practices which should be fully utilized in planning and operating future international services. Inevitable shortages of manpower and of supplies will demand ingenious improvisations, which are likely to be all the more adequate and constructive when they have sprung from a background of knowledge of competent, modern operations under normal conditions.

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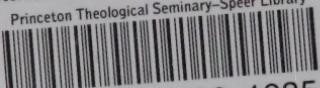
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